United Nations S/PV.6586

Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

Provisional

6586th meeting

Tuesday, 19 July 2011, 11 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wittig	(Germany)
Members:	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Ms. Čolaković
	Brazil	Mrs. Viotti
	China	Mr. Sun Xiaobo
	Colombia	Mr. Osorio
	France	Mr. Bonne
	Gabon	Mr. Moungara Moussotsi
	India	Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri
	Lebanon	Mr. Salam
	Nigeria	Mr. Edokpa
	Portugal	Mr. Vaz Patto
	Russian Federation	Mr. Zhukov
	South Africa	Mr. Laher
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Tatham
	United States of America	Ms. Rice

Agenda

The situation concerning Iraq

Third report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 1936 (2010) (S/2011/435)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

11-42035 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 11.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Iraq

Third report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 1936 (2010) (S/2011/435)

The President: In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of Iraq to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Ad Melkert, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2011/435, containing the third report of the secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 1936 (2010).

I now give the floor to Mr. Melkert.

Mr. Melkert: I thank you, Sir, for this opportunity to introduce the Secretary-General's latest report (S/2011/435) on the activities of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI). This comes at an important time when the Council will be considering UNAMI's mandate renewal next week.

"Are you optimistic or are you pessimistic?" has been the question I have been asked most by many. As we know, events tend to shape intents at least as much as the other way around. In most of what I have witnessed in Iraq there is ground for cautious optimism, provided that determined leadership within the country and a stronger spirit of cooperation in the region with Iraq prevail.

In some important aspects, Iraq is at the heart of fundamental changes in the region. The Iraqi system of Government incorporates a power-sharing Constitution, guaranteeing the participation of women and minorities and nurturing a culture of ongoing constitutional debate. Regular elections have taken place, conducted in line with international standards. While drawn out, Government formation has indeed progressed. Meanwhile, Parliament is taking an increasingly important role in decision-making. And in a departure from decades of authoritarian regime, negotiations between all parties have become the predominant feature of political life. In the words of Foreign Minister Zebari, speaking of Iraq and the wider region: "The time of the single-party State and the ruling party is over ... This era is at an end."

In the slipstream of events in the region, demonstrations have been recognized as a legitimate way to express opinions or grievances, although all too often the practice of freedom of expression is under considerable pressure. Still, the Government and the Council of Representatives have embarked on a true debate about the policies that need to be put in place in order to modernize infrastructure and the economy, improve social services delivery and combat institutional lethargy and corruption.

Iraq's economy, meanwhile, continues to grow at a rate of over 10 per cent, with oil revenues at a higher level than projected and updates on proven reserves reconfirming Iraq's prominence in global oil production for a long time to come. Total foreign direct investment in 2010 increased by almost 50 per cent against the previous year, up to a level of just over $42 billion. Areas that have benefited include construction, transportation, electricity, industry, oil and gas, water and sanitation, health and agriculture. At the same time Iraq's poverty index remains high at 22.9 per cent. Such inequality poses an instability risk for the future.

These political and economic facts matter in a country that has suffered much during three decades of war and oppression. Reconstruction, institution-building and bringing back knowledge all take time. There have also been setbacks as armed opposition groups continue to try to undo positive developments, most notably in waves of kidnappings and assassinations targeting civil servants, holders of political office, academics, doctors and activists, undoubtedly impacting State- and society-building at this crucial time. These and other acts of violence, which unfortunately have not subsided in recent months, emphasize once more the need for determined, jointly shared political action against the perpetrators, wherever they may derive their support from.

Consolidating and further strengthening the indisputable gains will require a keen understanding of the need to resolve pending issues. The key to this remains the implementation of the November 2010 Erbil agreement that brought the signatures of Prime Minister Al-Maliki, Kurdistan Regional Government President Barzani and Iraqiya leader Allawi together under an agreed power-sharing arrangement. As appointments of ministers in the security ministries are still pending and the National Council for Strategic Policies has not yet been formed, there is understandable concern about whether the post-election spirit can prevail. In this context, as stressed in the report before the Council, the Secretary-General calls on Iraqi political leaders to put aside their differences and move swiftly to agree on the way forward.

It is important to note that on 10 July all leaders of the main political blocs met at the invitation of President Talabani in order to step up efforts to revitalize the spirit of consensus and look at ways to implement the Erbil agreement. Discussions also focused on the issue of the expiration of the bilateral status-of-forces agreement between Iraq and the United States. However, the indications at my most recent meetings do not provide grounds for optimism about a breakthrough any time soon.

Another issue that would benefit from consensus between parties is the mandate and selection of the next Independent High Electoral Commission in the course of next year. UNAMI stands ready to advise the Council of Representatives on the procedure that will be essential to consolidating independence and standards for organizing elections in the coming period.

I am pleased to report that UNAMI has continued to facilitate dialogue within the framework of the standing consultative mechanism. Importantly, interaction among key leaders within Kirkuk province has been positively affected by a new power-sharing arrangement between key representatives of the Kurdish, Arab and Turkmen components. Furthermore, UNAMI hosted all Council of Representatives members elected in Kirkuk as part of ongoing consultations on the conditions that would enable the delayed Provincial Council elections to take place in the near future. Discussions have further focused on power sharing in Ninewa, the conditions for conducting a census and the future of the combined security mechanism, which, under the auspices of United States Forces-Iraq, has contributed significantly to cooperation and coordination between the Iraqi security forces and the Peshmerga.

Maintaining security stability is important in the short run, provided that genuine efforts are made to address the underlying issues that have been a source of political controversy. The Mission is committed to helping stakeholders find common ground and mutually acceptable solutions to these and other issues in order to resolve the status of Kirkuk and other disputed areas. It is of great interest to Iraq and the international community that these overall positive experiences be consolidated and strengthened. With that purpose in mind, I visited the coordination centres of the combined security mechanism in the provinces of Kirkuk, Ninewa and Diyala in order to enable UNAMI to advise and assist, as per its mandate, the Government of Iraq and the Kurdistan Regional Government on the future of the mechanism and the possibility of continued international engagement, if requested.

While Iraq's internal affairs continue to require additional efforts to strengthen stability, the regional context requires attention as well. With Kuwait, Iraq shares not only a border but also a history and a future. Earlier this year, a breakthrough was achieved as a consequence of mutual visits by the respective Prime Ministers, and by the subsequent work on a comprehensive bilateral agenda under the auspices of their Foreign Ministers. Their decision to form a Joint Ministerial Committee is an important step towards finding viable solutions to their outstanding bilateral concerns, including those that have recently generated public discussion.

Notwithstanding those bilateral efforts, which I hope will be successful, Iraq, as the Secretary-General's report indicates, must demonstrate to the Council tangible and expeditious progress in implementing its outstanding Chapter VII obligations pertaining to Kuwait. These include missing Kuwaiti persons and property, as well as the Iraq-Kuwait boundary maintenance project and citizens' relocation. The Secretary-General has also consistently reminded the Iraqi Prime Minister that a letter from him reaffirming Iraq's commitment to its land and maritime boundaries with Kuwait under resolution 833 (1993) is an essential confidence-building measure. In this context, the Secretary-General's High-level

Coordinator and I both remain committed to assisting Iraq and Kuwait in bringing closure to these long-standing Security Council mandates.

The implementation of the United Nations Development Assistance Framework, formulated to support the National Development Plan, remains ongoing, with two main pillars: a $33-million private-sector development programme and a $55-million public-sector one. Noteworthy in that context is the essential support that the United Nations Population Fund recently provided to the Government for the successful completion of the dwelling and household part of the census.

On the human rights front, several initiatives were launched at the national and regional levels. In early June, the draft national action plan on human rights was discussed at a conference hosted by Prime Minister Al-Maliki in the Council of Representatives. During the discussions, more than 100 recommendations were incorporated into the plan. They cover issues affecting women's rights, children's rights, minorities, the rule of law, freedom of expression, internally displaced persons and refugees. In the Kurdistan region, its Parliament passed a law combating domestic violence in the region. While these are positive developments, efforts must continue to ensure that fundamental rights and freedoms are protected, notably with regard to the role of the media, and that conditions in detention facilities comply with international conventions.

For UNAMI, last week was an historic week of transition from years of support by United States forces to enhanced cooperation with the Iraqi security forces, and I would like to commend the Government for its strong commitment to the protection of United Nations staff. At my completion of a two-year period as the guest of the Iraqi people, I would like to conclude with some personal observations.

From the international perspective, there is every reason for strongly welcoming the return of Iraq as a full and respected member of the international community. As historically all parts of Iraq are inseparably connected to their neighbours, it remains true that what goes well in Iraq will be of tremendous benefit to the wider region. Steady economic development in Iraq will reinforce regional and international stability. Addressing major political, social and economic challenges could significantly contribute to reducing the space for extremism, including by distributing Iraq's wealth more fairly among its people. Conversely, it is true that what goes well in the region is of benefit to Iraq as well. Sustained engagement on the part of the international community will help to create the space needed to tap into the vast potential of more diverse and integrated economic development and to achieve a level of social progress that will ultimately define the future of the region.

Underscoring what the Secretary-General has said in his report, I therefore urge all countries in the region to step up their engagement with Iraq with a view to quickly resolving outstanding differences and identifying concrete areas of cooperation in the political, security and development fields that could be beneficial for all concerned. UNAMI, with the support of the Security Council, is prepared to do all it can to support such efforts.

Looking inside Iraq, I have been privileged to witness the genuine progress that has been made to replace a horrific past of ethnic confrontation with a future where coexistence and common interest define the interaction between Arabs and Kurds. For Iraq and for the wider region, it is truly significant to note achievements in the Kurdistan region that are a great asset to stability and confidence-building. This generates hope that common sense will prevail in addressing still significant but not insurmountable issues regarding the disputed areas, including Kirkuk. The key will be the readiness of all parties to respect mutual concerns relating to past confrontation and injustices, while substituting for these the recognition that pluralism should be recognized in power-sharing arrangements serving the common interest. As long as the parties in Iraq consider this helpful, I would strongly recommend maintaining international engagement so as to facilitate the processes that may gradually transform disputes into mutually acceptable solutions.

Real progress has also been achieved in replacing a ruthless dictatorship with institutions and representatives mandated by constitutional principles and practice. While many challenges remain in the process of ingraining human rights and democracy fundamentals into the minds and actions of all stakeholders, it is hard to see how this change could be reversed. The change, however, has come at an extreme cost, which is still tangible and visible on a daily basis

in the victims and the damage, despite the eight years that have gone by. Developments in the region are showing that change must, and eventually will, come primarily from within. The new Iraq will be a real opportunity for all Iraqis only if their leaders are decisive in their action, allies do not turn away in their support, and its sovereignty is respected. For the foreseeable future, the United Nations will be well placed to remain a trusted partner in this endeavour.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the Government of Iraq, including Ambassador Al Bayati, the Security Council and the Secretary-General for the confidence they have vested in me over the past two years in support of my efforts as Special Representative of the Secretary-General to carry out the important mandate entrusted to UNAMI. I also thank the brave and able staff of UNAMI and the United Nations country team for their efforts in supporting the people of Iraq under difficult and challenging conditions.

The President: I thank Mr. Melkert for his briefing.

I now give the floor to the representative of Iraq.

Mr. Al Bayati (Iraq): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I would like to extend my thanks to the previous President of the Security Council, His Excellency the Permanent Representative of Gabon, for his efforts during the month of June. I would like also to thank Mr. Ad Melkert, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, and his team in Baghdad and New York for their sincere efforts in helping the Iraqi people and the Iraqi Government.

The political and security situation in Iraq witnessed significant developments following the success of the Iraqi parliamentary elections, which were held in March 2010 with broad participation on the part of all components of the Iraqi population. Those elections resulted in the formation of a national partnership Government from all of the political blocs that won in the elections, which strengthened the democratic process and led to greater security and stability. The next stage, which will follow the withdrawal of the American forces at the end of this year, will bring immense challenges and responsibilities to the Iraqi Government.

From a security perspective, the Iraqi Government is continuing to improve the ability of its security forces and to prepare them to stand in the face of terrorist attacks, protect internal security and defend democracy in Iraq. The Iraqi Government will work on the optimum implementation of the strategic framework agreement with the United States and the partnership agreement with the European Union, which will, hopefully, be signed this year. The Iraqi Government will benefit from the expertise of NATO on building military capabilities in keeping with Security Council resolution 1546 (2004).

On 27 March, the Iraqi Prime Minister, Mr. Nuri al-Maliki, launched a 100-day initiative whose goal was to put Government institutions on the right path so as to enable them to improve their performance and to identify their strong points, in order to capitalize on them, and their weaknesses, in order to address them. The initiative coincided with the publication of a paper on administrative, political and services reforms and on fighting unemployment, which was approved by the Council of Ministers. The Prime Minister also decided to establish a coordination committee for the 100-day initiative, chaired by the Secretary-General of the Council of Ministers, to prepare a report on the outcome of the work performed by the ministries.

In a speech televised to the Iraqi people on 23 June, the Prime Minister stated that the general index and the final outcome of the 100-day plan showed that the performance of most ministries was between average and good. However, as the performance of quite a few ministries was weak and at an unacceptable level, a series of actions will be adopted: first, trim the Government and all non-essential and honorary positions, which had become an urgent need, according to all indicators; secondly, at the ministerial level, a change in the number of ministries; thirdly, conduct a professional evaluation aimed at implementing changes in the staff of a number of ministries at the level of deputy ministers, advisers and general directors; and fourthly, continue the process of monitoring and evaluation from the point reached by the 100-day initiative, at an accelerated pace.

The Iraqi Government was able to advance the process of national reconciliation by ending the issue of dissolved entities, integrating them into society within the framework of the Justice and Accountability Law. The Government also addressed the issue of the

Sons of Iraq — also known as the Awakening Council — and to date has integrated 45 per cent of them into the various ministries. Tribal councils were established for tribal reform and to avert conflicts, so as to achieve convergence among the different components of Iraqi society, with a view to breaking down the barriers placed by terrorists between the sons of the country.

The Government also supports the religious conferences held to bring closer the different views of Iraqis. It is also open to armed groups surrendering their weapons and converging, with the rest of the Iraqi people, under the tent of Iraq. In addition, the Government has created a general atmosphere conducive to reconciliation by promoting a culture of understanding and has moved to have the ministries of education, culture and religious endowments change certain school curricula so as to spread a culture of love and harmony among Iraqis.

In the field of development, the Iraqi Government has coordinated its efforts with those of its international partners to implement the National Development Plan for the five years from 2010 to 2014. The plan, whose cost will reach $186 billion, includes approximately 2,700 strategic projects in many fields and is aimed at making a quantum leap in terms of the Iraqi economy and improving the services provided to the country's citizens. The system for the management of Iraqi human development was recently finalized, with a view to supporting and following up on the implementation of the plan, at a time when the Government is working on the implementation of an ambitious development programme to build a strong economy that encourages investment and provides the appropriate legislative atmosphere to protect investors and their capital.

This coincided with the Prime Minister's assertion that the Iraqi Government was committed to its obligations in the context of reforming the Iraqi economy by adopting a free-market policy, carrying out the legislative reforms needed in different sectors, and giving the private sector the attention necessary for it to play its part in the economic development process.

In addition, the Iraqi oil sector is experiencing stability, with average exports of around 2 million barrels a day and average production of more than 2.5 million barrels a day. The Iraqi Government is still working to implement the national plan to improve the Iraqi oil industry, which aims to reach a production level of 12 million barrels per day in 2017.

Regarding the efforts made by the Iraqi Government to solve the housing problem, the Government signed a contract on 25 May with the Korean company Hanwha to build 100,000 units in Baghdad Province. On 31 May, the Government also signed a memorandum of understanding with the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), the agency in charge of human settlement issues.

With regard to the subject of the census, while attending the celebration of the International Day for Population, organized by the Ministry of Planning, the Prime Minister reaffirmed that the Iraqi Government was committed to reaching an agreement to conduct the census because it was not possible to build a real State on scientific bases unless a general population census were conducted to survey all the needs and the available capacities and capabilities. The Prime Minister added that the census was a national development project that would meet the statistical needs of ministries and private institutions necessary for planning and development. He also stated that the Government had provided the necessary support for the census project, as well as the technical and professional preparations necessary to ensure its success.

The new Iraq has paid special attention to human rights issues by establishing credible and independent national mechanisms charged with monitoring the human rights situation in Iraq and ensuring that those rights are protected. The Iraqi High Commission for Human Rights was therefore established. Beginning in April, nominations began to be accepted for the Commission's 11-member council. The council will enjoy broad authority in monitoring the situation of human rights in Iraq.

In the same context, a conference was held in June to discuss the recommendations of the United Nations Human Rights Council. That meeting had the support of Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki and included the participation of Mr. Ad Melkert, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq. Representatives from several international organizations, ambassadors and members of the diplomatic corps in Baghdad were also in attendance. The conference called for a national plan for human

rights and for the teaching of human rights in schools and universities. Improving the education sector is also one of the main priorities for the Iraqi Government, which has adopted a broad programme to improve curricula, build schools and universities and send Iraqi students to other countries to study as part of the educational initiative.

On 7 April, Camp Ashraf, which is occupied by the Iranian Mujahedin Khalq Organization, witnessed security events after Iraqi security and riot control forces attempted to establish Government control in the north-eastern part of the camp, which includes farmland that belongs to Iraqi citizens. Iraqi forces were subject to an attack with firebombs and knives, which led to clashes. A number of camp residents were killed or injured, with seven members of the Iraqi forces injured. The aim of the security forces was not to take over the camp or remove its residents by force. I would like to point out here that, since 7 April, the Iraqi Government has allowed representatives of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq and many international organizations to enter the camp to deliver food and medicine to its residents. The Government also expressed its willingness to start a Government investigation regarding those events.

However, that organization considers the camp as liberated and holy territory. It is refusing to leave the camp, which is a stark challenge to Iraq's sovereignty. The organization's leadership is interfering in Iraq's internal affairs and calling publicly for the overthrow of the Iraqi Government and inciting against it. This organization is considered a terrorist organization in the United States. It was considered as a terrorist group in Europe until it was removed from the European list of such organizations. It is also one of the organizations that collaborated with the former regime of Saddam Hussein, acting as a tool of repression against the Iraqi people. The Iraqi Government therefore took the decision to ensure the departure of members of the group from Iraq by the end of 2011, as well as to work on their resettlement and on guaranteeing their human rights.

Iraq has suffered for long time from the sanctions placed on it because it represented a threat to international peace and security after Saddam's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. However, since 2003 Iraq has proved beyond any doubt that it no longer represents a threat to international peace and security. In furtherance of the goals of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security, Iraq supports international efforts aimed at disarmament and arms control. On 19 August 2008, Iraq joined the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. On 12 February 2009, it acceded to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction. On 12 November 2009, Iraq signed the Convention on Cluster Munitions. And, on 11 August 2010, Iraq signed The Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation. In addition, Iraq chaired the substantive session of the Disarmament Commission held from 4 to 21 April 2011, which strengthened the momentum in the bilateral and group negotiations on nuclear disarmament.

All of this constitutes a clear message from Iraq that it is no longer a threat to international peace and security, but rather that Iraq is an important and effective country in the international efforts to spread international peace and security throughout our world.

On the regional front, the Arab world is witnessing a wave of political changes and reform movements that prove the rightness of Iraq's political direction in terms of achieving political change and adopting democracy, elections and the peaceful transition of power as a way of governing. I would like to point out that, during the 2004 discussions relating to development and modernization in the Arab world, Iraq emphasized the importance of activating the mechanisms of the joint Arab system to deepen the foundations of democracy, expand the participation of the masses in the political sector and in the taking of national decisions, continue economic reforms to raise the living conditions of Arab nations, ensure social justice and underscore the importance of women's role in society and the need to support their rights and to empower them, as well as many other important matters. If these points had been taken with seriousness and foresight, maybe we could have avoided many of the events now happening in the Arab world.

Owing to Iraq's belief in the importance of taking its leadership role in the joint Arab work system and its joint mechanisms — at the forefront of which is the Summit of the League of Arab States — Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs Hoshyar Zebari delivered a letter to the Secretary-General of the Arab League in which Iraq requested the postponement of the Summit scheduled to be held in Baghdad in May, to be rescheduled to its

regular time in March 2012. That request was due to the situation and political developments in the Arab world, which is still escalating, with the implications that entails. The Iraqi Government believes that, at this stage, the timing is not appropriate for the holding of the Summit. However, Iraq reserves its right to host the Arab Summit in Baghdad on the date I have mentioned. On 5 May, the general secretariat of the Arab League issued an official statement indicating that the Summit had been postponed upon an official request from Iraq, which reserved the right to host the Summit in Baghdad and to maintain the helm of the joint Arab work for a full year from the date of holding the next Summit.

As a result of Iraq's openness to all countries of the world, the past period has seen many visits to Baghdad by foreign officials. Mr. John Boehner, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, visited Baghdad on 16 April. Mr. Marzuki Ali, Speaker of Indonesia's People's Representative Council, visited Baghdad on 3 May. Ms. Nancy Pelosi, leader of the Democratic Party bloc in the United States Congress, visited Baghdad on 5 May. United States Senator John McCain visited Iraq, along with a congressional delegation, on 9 May. Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov visited Baghdad on 10 May. Iranian Minister for Foreign Affairs Aliakbar Salehi visited Iraq on 11 May. Czech Prime Minister Petr Nečas visited Baghdad on 23 May. Jordanian Prime Minister Marouf Bakhit visited Baghdad on 1 June. Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs Lynn Pascoe visited Iraq on 11 June.

In addition, Iraq's Prime Minister visited the Republic of Korea on 27 April, where he met President Lee Myung-bak and Mr. Park Hee-ta, Speaker of the National Assembly. Iraq's Minister for Foreign Affairs also headed Iraq's delegation to the ministerial meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Bali from 23 to 27 May.

At that meeting, he delivered a statement in which he expressed Iraq's desire to open collaboration channels in the field of investments, which would enforce the ties of cooperation between Iraq and countries of the Movement. He also expressed the hope of the Iraqi Government to activate its role at the working level with regional and international organizations, especially within the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement. Mr. Hoshyar Zebari also headed Iraq's delegation that participated in the thirty-eighth work session of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, held in Astana from 28 to 30 June.

On 15 December 2010, the Council hosted an historic meeting (see S/PV.6450) on Iraq at which three important resolutions were adopted: resolutions 1956 (2010), 1957 (2010) and 1958(2010). These resolutions represented the beginning of the end of sanctions and restrictions imposed on Iraq as a result of the crimes of the Saddam regime. The Iraqi Government is working on following up on those three resolutions adopted by the Security Council. The Iraqi Government has started consultations with the Secretariat to formulate a memorandum of understanding regarding the implementation of paragraph 7 of the resolution 1958 (2010) relating to ending the oil-for-food programme.

Iraq has presented its fourth and last report to the Security Council in April regarding the successor arrangements of the Development Fund for Iraq. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is following up on the subject of ratifying the additional protocol of the International Atomic Energy Agency as part of its commitment to resolution 1957 (2010).

The Government of Iraq, pursuant to its commitment to improve its relations with the State of Kuwait, has exhibited a thorough spirit of cooperation at various levels to resolve all outstanding issues. The Joint Ministerial Committee held a meeting in March, chaired by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of both countries. Iraq has emphasized the importance of the principle of joint management of the navigational channel in Khawr Abdullah and of respect for the report of the specialized committee in charge of marking the borders to ensure the freedom of navigation.

I would like to point out my Government's position regarding the issue of missing Kuwaitis and Kuwaiti property, as mentioned in the letter of 5 July from the Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Secretary-General, which is not to extend the mandate of the High-level Coordinator when it expires on 31 December; to depend on the mechanisms of the Tripartite Commission; and, as suggested in the Minister's letter to the Secretary-General dated 26 November 2010, to establish a technical team in the Kuwaiti Embassy in Baghdad, which was welcomed by all members of the Security Council in its press statement of 17 December 2010 (SC/10130). Working

in this way, we could better serve the interests of our two countries.

The Foreign Minister asserted in his letter that the Government of Iraq is completely serious about solving all of its outstanding issues with the State of Kuwait and is proving that it is taking the necessary steps to implement relevant Security Council resolutions. Iraq realizes that confidence-building must originate from the desire of both countries to improve their relations in order to serve the interests of both the Iraqi and the Kuwaiti peoples.

Finally, I would like to reaffirm my Government's appreciation for the role played by the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq and for the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ad Melkert, in providing the backing and support requested by the Iraqi Government, in accordance with the mechanisms agreed upon by the two parties.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. I now invite members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on this subject.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.6587

Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

Provisional

6587th meeting

Wednesday, 20 July 2011, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wittig	(Germany)
Members:	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Ms. Čolaković
	Brazil	Mrs. Viotti
	China	Mr. Wang Min
	Colombia	Mr. Osorio
	France	Mr. Araud
	Gabon	Mr. Moungara Moussotsi
	India	Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri
	Lebanon	Mr. Salam
	Nigeria	Mrs. Ogwu
	Portugal	Mr. Moraes Cabral
	Russian Federation	Mr. Pankin
	South Africa	Mr. Mashabane
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Ms. Rice

Agenda

Maintenance of international peace and security

Impact of climate change

Letter dated 1 July 2011 from the Permanent Representative of Germany to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2011/408)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

11-42259 (E)

Please recycle

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Maintenance of international peace and security

Impact of climate change

Letter dated 1 July 2011 from the Permanent Representative of Germany to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2011/408)

The President: I wish to welcome the Secretary-General, the President of the Republic of Nauru and the Parliamentary Secretary for Pacific Island Affairs of Australia. Their presence is an affirmation of the importance of the subject being discussed.

In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, Ghana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Kuwait, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nauru, New Zealand, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Slovenia, Spain, the Sudan, Turkey, the United Republic of Tanzania and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Achim Steiner, Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme, to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite His Excellency Mr. Pedro Serrano, Acting Head of the delegation of the European Union to the United Nations, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2011/408, which contains a letter dated 1 July 2011 from the Permanent Representative of Germany to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting a concept paper on the item under consideration.

I now give the floor to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon.

The Secretary-General: I thank the German presidency of the Security Council for having organized this very important meeting at this juncture.

When the Security Council first took up the issue of climate change in 2007 (see S/PV.5663), the debate was preceded by a vigorous exchange about whether such consideration was appropriate. I argued then, and do so again today, that it is not only appropriate, it is essential. I welcome the fact that we have moved forward and are having the right debate today, about what the Council and all Member States can do to confront the double-barrelled challenge of climate change and international security.

We must make no mistake. The facts are clear. Climate change is real, and it is accelerating in a dangerous manner. It not only exacerbates threats to international peace and security, it is a threat to international peace and security.

Extreme weather events continue to grow more frequent and intense, in rich and poor countries alike, not only devastating lives but also infrastructure, institutions and budgets — an unholy brew that can create dangerous security vacuums. Pakistan, the Pacific islands, Russia, Western Europe, the Philippines, Colombia, Australia, Brazil, the United States, China, the Horn of Africa are examples that should remind us of the urgency of what we face.

Just today, the United Nations declared a state of famine in two regions of southern Somalia. Around the world, hundreds of millions of people are in danger of going short of food and water. That undermines the most essential foundations of local, national and global stability. Competition between communities and countries for scarce resources, especially water, is increasing, exacerbating old security dilemmas and creating new ones. Environmental refugees are reshaping the human geography of the planet, a trend that will only increase as deserts advance, forests are felled and sea-levels rise. Mega-crises may well become the new normal. Those are all threats to human security, as well as to international peace and security.

Since I delivered my report (A/64/350) to the General Assembly in 2009, the international community has reached certain agreements, in Copenhagen and Cancún, in the context of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Those agreements provide an important, but incomplete, foundation for action on reducing greenhouse gas emissions and enabling all countries to adapt. We now need accelerated operationalization of all the agreements made at Cancún, including on protecting forests, adaptation and technology.

Climate finance, the sine qua non for progress, must move from a conceptual discussion to concrete delivery of fast-start financing and agreement on sources of long-term financing. The next Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, to be held in Durban in December, must be decisive in that regard. Minimalist steps will not do.

Negotiations cannot stop there. We need ambitious targets that ensure that any increase in global average temperature remains below 2° C. The Durban meeting must provide a clear step forward on mitigation commitments and actions by all parties according to their responsibilities and capabilities. Developed countries must lead, while at the same time emerging economies must shoulder their fair share. We cannot ignore history. But we must clearly recognize that there can be no spectators when it comes to securing the future of our planet.

Given that the first commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol expires next year, a political formula must be found without delay to ensure that existing commitments and needed future commitments and actions are not delayed by negotiating gamesmanship.

The Security Council can play a vital role in making clear the link between climate change, peace and security. The members of the Council bear a unique responsibility to mobilize national and international action to confront the very real threat of climate change and the specific threats to international peace and security that derive from it. Of course, nothing would build a more lasting foundation for a peaceful world than securing sustainable development for all of our citizens.

In this regard, I urge all United Nations Member States to fully utilize the opportunity provided by next year's United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development. In Rio, we need to close the gaps between energy security, food and nutrition security, water security, climate security and development so that all our peoples can enjoy prosperity, peace and international security.

I thank you again, Sir, for having organized this debate and for lending the political weight of the Security Council to raising awareness of this important issue. I have called climate change the defining issue of our time. Indeed, we must go even further. We must make sustainable development for all the defining issue of our time, because it is only in that broader framework that we can address climate change and the needs of our citizens. Rewriting this history falls to us all.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

I now give the floor to Mr. Steiner.

Mr. Steiner: It is my privilege this morning to address the Security Council from the perspective of the knowledge, the science and the expertise we have acquired over a period of roughly 30 years in terms of understanding the significant and profound implications of climate change. What do we know today and what do we not know yet about the implications and impacts of climate change and how the world needs to prepare for changes that are now on the horizon and which, perhaps, to modern civilization are of an unprecedented nature in terms of the time, the scale and the implications across the planet?

For the international community, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) remains the first point of reference in terms of determining what it is that science can tell us today and what it is that science cannot yet tell us. I want to reassure the Council once again that, despite some of the discussions that occurred around some of the IPCC reports, what remains without contest is that the IPCC's *Fourth Assessment Report* is a document that is uncontested in terms of the international peer review, and that it speaks very clearly, first, to the fact that climate change is happening. Not only is it happening; it is also accelerating. Not only is it accelerating, but indeed the latest science being published by scientific institutions across the planet is in many respects overtaking the rather conservative scenarios, predictions and models that the IPCC brought to our attention four years ago.

Whether we look at the linear warming trend over the past 50 years — on average, 0.13°C warming per decade, which is nearly twice the temperature increase we have seen over the past 100 years; whether we look at the increase in terms of extreme weather events, such as storms and cyclones; whether we look at the thermal expansion of oceans; or whether we look at the melting of the Arctic summer ice, none of these are speculative data about the fact that a changing climate is a reality today. These are proven trends.

The limitations of our knowledge still lie today in interpreting, first of all, the implications of these changes for our weather systems, ecosystems and, indeed, atmospheric response mechanisms. Science cannot yet tell us everything about these factors. Indeed, where the IPCC found itself in more challenging territory — as all science does, because perfect knowledge has rarely been the foundation of human understanding — is in trying to understand the future. Clearly, here science is far from being able to capture the complexity of how our climate systems work, how the atmosphere and the biosphere interact, or how ocean, marine and terrestrial ecosystems will respond to these different trends.

But as we have seen, and as almost every day that passes brings new consolidation of our science, there is no question in the minds of those who have studied this subject with great intensity — across institutions north and south, east and west; whether from a natural science perspective, an economic science perspective or a social science perspective — the nature and scale of these changes are of such a degree that we cannot simply view them as a challenge of changing our energy systems or adjusting our transport economy. It is in fact a series of developments that are triggering responses and impacts far beyond any single sector of our economies and societies.

Let me just point out that, while we are still struggling with finding a way in which we can stay within the 2°C realm — which was an emerging consensus in the international community around the climate change negotiations — the latest projections that we are receiving from scientists for certain parts of the world are talking about 3°C and 4°C scenarios this century. This means that the world is confronting a global warming scenario that is already well beyond where we believe we might be able to manage these changes and trends if we are able to conclude our negotiations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

The Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme has also predicted that sea-level rise is likely to reach 1 metre by the end of this century. The IPCC erred on the conservative side in its *Fourth Assessment Report* when it spoke about 0.18 to 0.59 metres — roughly half a metre maximum — in sea-level rise. We are now talking about a 1-metre sea-level rise possibly occurring this century.

If we look at a world map and we realize how many tens of thousands of kilometres of coastline will be affected by this, and how in a sense we will redraw the world map not only in geographical terms but also in terms of exclusive economic zones and many other implications, we begin to realize that we are now truly confronted with a level of scientific knowledge that is sufficient for us to begin to realize that we are talking about major implications, not only in a territorial sense, but also from a geopolitical perspective. Indeed, not long ago the Royal Society of the United Kingdom published another report that stated that the worst-case scenario under current conditions could be a 4°C warming by 2060.

I do not want to delve further into the science; I have cited many other examples in my written statement. I simply wanted to tell the Council that when we talk about the changing climate today, it is already a fact. We know enough about what is happening, but we do not yet know enough about how fast and in how many different domains it will manifest itself. Perhaps most important, we have not yet well understood the implications of these changes for our societies, our economies and the Earth's life-support systems.

That is why I believe that the term "threat multiplier", which perhaps has a strong connotation for defence establishments and analyses, is not irrelevant to a review of the implications of a changing climate upon the international peace and security context. As the Secretary-General just said, as we in the international community and as nation States seek to move forward on the path towards sustainable development, what we are confronted with today is the fact that there are a number of threats that are beginning to undermine the tenuous gains we have made in terms of sustainable development. As a global economy and a global community, we are confronted

with scenarios of natural resource scarcities, droughts and floods, and corresponding instabilities in global markets for food and other commodities that are putting into question some of the gains that we have achieved in sustainable development in recent decades.

In fact, natural disasters are fundamentally disruptive events, and if some of the scenarios that the IPCC and many scientists have drawn up hold true, then the scale, number and nature of these natural disasters will increase exponentially. If we go back to Hurricane Mitch in Honduras, the President of that country at that time called it the biggest disaster in the history of the nation, with 50 years of development lost literally in a matter of hours. Some 70 per cent of the country's infrastructure was destroyed, and therefore the maps that the country used for settlements, towns and roads had to be basically redrawn.

We are all familiar with the natural disasters that are occurring across the planet — be they floods in Pakistan or the drought to which the Secretary-General just referred — and that are occurring in ever-faster patterns in regions such as the Horn of Africa. We can see that their impact in terms of the number of people affected and the ability of societies to cope with these natural disasters is increasing every day. The Norwegian Refugee Council has estimated that, in the year 2010, 42 million people were displaced by natural disasters and that 90 per cent of those disasters were in fact related to weather-related extremes, such as floods and droughts. These are just the officially captured numbers. They do not give even a sense of the human tragedy or the rebuilding efforts that are required in that context.

I would also like to refer to the notion of food security as not just being a matter of having food available. We know today that an extreme weather event in one part of the world can change the global commodity markets overnight and literally price tens of millions of people out of the market for food. This is how interconnected our global economy is today. Food insecurity is predicted to increase in prevalence and magnitude in the coming decades. Clearly, if we are unable to feed ourselves and to have food available where it is needed at an affordable price, the result will be major social instability and disruption.

Climate science is advancing by the day. Recently, a report was published that analysed 20,000 African maize trials from recent decades. The results were that in a 1 °C warming scenario, roughly 65 per cent of Africa's existing growing areas would suffer yield losses within this century. Viewing the ramifications and implications from any angle, we have to recognize that such trends are disruptive to the sustainable development paths of nations and to the economic, social and environmental stability of our societies, our economies and our planet. Moreover, they are disruptive in part because we cannot predict their magnitude.

On that subject, I want to recall two very important concepts in the science emerging in climate change: the notions of tipping points and feedback mechanisms. One of the most unsettling aspects of trying to understand these planetary systems is that we cannot assume linear developments. We cannot assume that with a certain number of years passing with a certain degree of global warming certain things will occur.

In our Earth's natural systems, there are tipping points. Brazil's environmental protection agency published a study about two years ago that looked at the implications of 2 °C, 3 °C and 4 °C warming scenarios for the Amazon. Ecologically speaking, what emerged from that research is that, at a certain point of warming, an entire ecosystem ceases functioning in the way that is functions today, not only in terms of the biodiversity of the ecosystem itself. In the case of the Amazon, it is the world's largest water pump. The entire hydrological cycles of significant parts of South America depend on how the systems of the Amazon function.

The second concept I want to recall is feedback mechanisms. If indeed Arctic melt continues to occur and if permafrost continues to melt in the tundra, old carbon will be released that is currently stored in those soils. According to one report, there is evidence that an amount of carbon equivalent to 270 years of emissions at today's level could be released by the end the century — a secondary effect of the increase in temperatures leading to the melting of the permafrost.

Another example is glacial melt. Across the globe, whether it is in the Hindu Kush, the Andes or Central Asia, glacial melt occurring as a result of climate change and global warming has the effect of disrupting the hydrological cycles and the flows around which societies have developed their agriculture, infrastructure and settlements. It also calls into

question the arrangements that nations have developed about how to share water resources. There are 145 countries with more that one trans-boundary river that they share. Scarcity of access to water resources is already beginning to be an issue of tension between communities within nations and internationally between nations. The research on glacial melt done at Beijing University and other institutions in China indicates that, in the headwaters of the Yangtze basin, there is a significant reduction in the area covered by glaciers, which will determine future water flows and availability.

The implications of what I am describing are so profound that the recognition of climate change as a factor in the future stability, cooperation and security of our planet is not an academic matter. I say this fully aware of the debate that Member States have had on the role of the Security Council. I do not wish to pronounce myself on that issue because it is not my place to do so. I do, however, want to speak today for an entity within the international system and the United Nations.

I hope that historians in 50 years looking back at the decisions we are making today will see an international community using the knowledge available — including unavoidable uncertainties — to address cooperatively a phenomenon that, as I said earlier, is unprecedented in its implications for civilization. The simultaneous nature and the degree and scale of the changes that we will have to accommodate, adapt to and deal with represent a great threat on many fronts. However, if addressed by the international community with appropriate measures, they also represent an opportunity to transition not only towards a low-carbon economy, but also towards a more stable mechanism for international cooperation.

The sustainable development paths of individual nations are today predicated on the ability of the international community to act collectively. Many of the sustainable development objectives, ambitions and pathways that nations have pursued are under threat beyond what traditionally have been the means of a national sovereign State to determine policies within its territory. If we take into account food insecurity, natural disasters and the potential for conflict and tensions over ever more scarce resources, together with displacement and the potential disappearance of entire nation States from our world map — including their culture, identity and sovereignty — within a time span of 50 to 100 years, we have to recognize that climate change is an issue that needs to be viewed not just from a scientific and technological perspective of managing carbon emissions, but truly from a geopolitical and security perspective. Our response will either unite us in cooperative action or divide us and lead us into chaos, tension and potential conflict.

The President: I thank Mr. Steiner for his briefing.

In accordance with the understanding reached among Council members, I wish to remind all speakers to limit their statements to no more than four minutes in order to enable the Council to carry out its work expeditiously. Longer versions of statements may of course be distributed in writing.

I now give the floor to the members of the Security Council who wish to make statements.

Ms. Rice (United States of America): I want to thank the Secretary-General and Executive Director Steiner for their excellent and very important statements this morning.

The United States welcomes today's debate, and we are grateful to Germany for its leadership in convening this critical and timely discussion, which aims to place climate change squarely on the global security agenda.

President Obama was clear at the Secretary-General's summit on climate change nearly two years ago when he said that the security and stability of every nation and every people are in jeopardy. Our prosperity, health and safety are in peril. Time is not just moving ahead; time is running out. Climate change has very real implications for peace and security. Its effects are as powerful as they are complex, and many of them are already upon us. In many regions, climate change is already reducing the availability of food and water, threatening biodiversity and disrupting sea levels and weather patterns. As more powerful and frequent storms and floods lash coastlines and uproot populations, climatic changes can put even more pressure on scarce resources and expose vulnerable communities to greater instability.

As too often happens, the most vulnerable will be the hardest hit. Post-conflict countries already struggle to rebuild their infrastructure, strengthen their institutions and overcome instability. Now, they must often grapple with extreme weather and protracted

drought, which can drive already strained systems to buckle. Climate change can also slow or even reverse crucial development gains for ordinary citizens trying to break free of the shackles of poverty.

Climate change can further erode State capacity, especially in fragile States already vulnerable from past conflict, poverty, upheaval or disaster. As sea levels rise, small island States may well see their territory quite literally drowned, raising the spectre of new and previously unimagined forms of statelessness.

We have just witnessed the birth of the world's newest nation, the Republic of South Sudan. South Sudanese leaders now tell us that agricultural production is one of their highest priorities as they work to consolidate peace. Yet that challenge is magnified by the unfolding humanitarian disaster caused by severe drought in the wider Horn of Africa. Let us remember that in the Sudan a decade ago, drought and rapid desertification are widely thought to have contributed to the conflict and the humanitarian crisis in Darfur, as they did a decade earlier in Somalia, where drought contributed to the crisis that eventually prompted the deployment of United Nations forces, with results that we all recall.

To be sure, the mechanisms are complex and some effects of climate change are long-term, but the Security Council needs to start now, today, and in the days to come to act on the understanding that climate change exacerbates the risks and dynamics of conflict. And we need to sharpen and adapt our instruments to prevent and respond to such conflicts. The United States itself is taking important steps through a range of initiatives to work with our partners to confront the growing challenges of global poverty, food insecurity, disease, water scarcity and depleted natural resources, helping lay the foundation for a more peaceful and prosperous future for all.

Let me now address the role of the Security Council in this issue. While we recognize the essential work of the wider United Nations system and other partners in tackling the broader dimensions of climate change around the world, we also strongly believe that the Council has an essential responsibility to address the clear-cut peace and security implications of a changing climate.

In the Council, we have discussed and addressed many emerging security issues, from the links between development and security to HIV/AIDS. Yet, this week we have been unable to reach consensus on even a simple draft presidential statement that climate change has the potential to impact peace and security in the face of the manifest evidence that it does. We have dozens of countries represented in this body and in this very Chamber whose very existence is threatened. They have asked the Council to demonstrate our understanding that their security is profoundly threatened. Instead, because of the refusal of a few to accept our responsibility, by its silence the Council is saying in effect "tough luck". That is more than disappointing; it is pathetic, short-sighted and, frankly, a dereliction of duty.

The Council needs to keep pace with the emerging threats of the twenty-first century. Old threats have not disappeared, but new threats are upon us, and they demand more of us than business as usual. The Council has shown an impressive ability in the past to embrace its responsibilities to combat new peace and security threats, as it has done over the past 20 years in adapting traditional peacekeeping tools to address new and more complex political and security crises around the world.

Climate change is no different and demands nothing less. We need improved early warning systems to increase our lead time to take action. We need greater collaboration on the effects of climate change, especially at the local and regional levels, and better information about basic human needs — water, food, livelihood and energy — so that we can anticipate and prevent resource-driven conflicts. We also need to become better equipped to anticipate and prevent the risk of conflict, including by building local and national capacities to respond to climate-related threats and to prevent them through diplomacy that helps Governments manage potential disputes over scarce resources.

Our goal is clear. The Council needs to be prepared for the full range of crises that may be deepened or widened by the effects of climate change. The question is not whether we will be faced with climate-related threats, but when and how to respond. We need to be much better prepared to tackle one of the central threats of our age. It is past time for the Security Council to come into the twenty-first century and to assume our core responsibilities.

Mrs. Viotti (Brazil): I thank the Secretary-General for being with us today and for his

remarks. I would like to welcome Mr. Achim Steiner and to thank him for his very interesting briefing. Brazil associates itself with the statement to be delivered by the representative of Argentina on behalf of the Group of 77 and China.

Brazil has a deep and long-standing commitment to combating climate change. We have translated that firm commitment into concrete actions and constructive proposals. Climate change is a complex and difficult issue. There are no shortcuts or easy solutions. The only effective way forward is to achieve an ambitious result under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and its Kyoto Protocol. Our efforts for mitigation and adaptation must be based on the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities. That is crucial to ensuring an equitable, balanced and effective solution.

The Security Council must take a holistic view of conflict. Violence is born not only of ethnic or religious disputes, but also of hunger, poverty and the competition for scarce resources. In some cases, the adverse effects of climate change may aggravate those disputes. However, when they do, it is not a function of climate change alone. It is usually a result of underdevelopment and lack of access to resources and technology for adaptation.

We firmly acknowledge the interdependence of development, security and human rights. The links between climate change and development and between security and development are clear and have been explicitly recognized by the United Nations. The possible security implications of climate change, however, are far less obvious. Environmental impacts do not threaten international peace and security on their own. In certain circumstances, the adverse effects of climate change may contribute to aggravating existing threats to international peace and security.

The rather indirect relationship between security and climate change in no way diminishes the urgency of supporting countries and populations that are most vulnerable to climate change, in particular small island developing States, many of which face truly existential challenges. Such challenges require political, economic and humanitarian approaches, and not necessarily a security response.

The grave consequences of sea-level rise may lead to humanitarian catastrophes if unchecked. The United Nations, under the UNFCCC, must work to strengthen prevention and to build resilience through adaptation. Humanitarian instruments need to be further developed in order to address the specific nature of the impacts of sea-level rise on populations.

In that context, I recognize and welcome the presence of His Excellency the President of Nauru, Mr. Marcus Stephen. We acknowledge his concerns and the untiring efforts of his country and of the other small island developing States in bringing the issue of sea-level rise to the forefront of the international agenda. Brazil expresses its full solidarity with them. We agree with them that expressions of concern or political declarations are no substitute for concrete action. We need to do more, and to do it faster. Climate change negotiations must yield significant results to curb emissions in a balanced and fair manner. Adaptation programmes must be prioritized and sufficiently funded.

The issue of food security is high on Brazil's agenda. At the international level, we must all support the leading role of the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Food Programme. We must redouble our efforts to eliminate the scourge of hunger. Effective political will is needed to improve market access to food products from developing countries by reducing agricultural subsidies and bringing the Doha Round to a successful conclusion. Efforts must also be made to boost productivity in developing countries, particularly in Africa. Where food insecurity contributes to aggravating instability in conflict or post-conflict situations, the Council should coordinate its efforts with the work of other relevant actors within the United Nations system and the World Bank.

The United Nations system has the necessary tools to deal with the challenges associated with fighting climate change. The wealth of knowledge, experience, political leverage and legal instruments that the system possesses must be used to its full capacity.

Security tools are appropriate to deal with concrete threats to international peace and security, but they are inadequate to address complex and multidimensional issues such as climate change. Effectively fighting climate change and dealing with its myriad implications must be a priority for the international community. To do so, we must take full advantage of all of the tools that the United Nations

system has to offer, especially in the area of sustainable development, and redouble our efforts to achieve ambitious results in the international negotiations on climate change.

Mr. Wang Min (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for his statement and the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme, Mr. Steiner, for his briefing. China supports the statement to be made by the representative of Argentina on behalf of the Group of 77 and China.

Global climate change is a common challenge of all countries that is profoundly affecting human survival and development. In recent years, all countries have made efforts towards protecting the global environment and responding to climate change, with notable results. But resolving climate change and achieving sustainable development remain pressing and long-term tasks that require all countries to continue their mitigating efforts.

Responding to climate change is in the interest of all countries worldwide, in particular of the majority of developing countries and for the well-being of their peoples. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Kyoto Protocol have been commonly accepted as major channels for responding to climate change. The principle of common but differentiated responsibility has become a basis for all parties to strengthen cooperation. Sustainable development and harmony between human beings and nature have common goals for all parties.

Climate change may affect security, but it is fundamentally a sustainable development issue. The Security Council lacks expertise in climate change and the necessary means and resources. Moreover, the Council is not a forum for decision-making with universal representation. Its discussions are not aimed at putting together a broadly accepted programme, nor can they take the place of the UNFCCC negotiations among the 193 United Nations Member States.

It is the general belief of the majority of developing countries that the Council's discussion on climate change will neither contribute to the mitigation efforts of countries nor assist affected countries in effectively responding to climate change. This reasonable concern should be fully understood and respected.

In responding to climate change, the international community should give full consideration to the developing countries' stages of development and their basic needs and take note of their difficult situations. It should listen to their voices, respect their demands and effectively carry out its own commitments relating to capital, technology and capacity-building.

China attaches great importance to the concerns of the small island developing States on climate change. As a country with many islands, China has compassion for the difficulties encountered by small island developing States in their efforts towards sustainable development. The international community should adopt effective measures to assist small island developing States in responding to the challenges of climate change. Developed countries should especially carry out their commitments on capital, technology and capacity-building.

China would like to work together with small island developing States to continue to actively implement the Mauritius Strategy for the Further Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States in order to facilitate sustainable development around the world.

Ms. Čolaković (Bosnia and Herzegovina): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, and the German delegation for organizing this important and timely debate. I would also like to thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and Mr. Achim Steiner, Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme, for their briefings today.

In an increasingly interdependent and interconnected world, changes due to growing populations or increasing demands for natural resources have the potential to aggravate social tensions, political unrest and conflict. The Council's main responsibility, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security, clearly entails the prevention of conflict. Recognizing the imperative of security, we cannot neglect to address possible climate change security risks, whose implications are certainly a factor that should be taken into consideration.

Moreover, it is likely that the negative effects of climate change will adversely affect the most vulnerable regions and populations. It is possible that additional pressures caused by climate change will increase the risk of fragile States lapsing into conflict

or will disrupt efforts towards conflict prevention, peacebuilding or post-conflict stabilization.

In certain circumstances the adverse impact of climate change may contribute to aggravating existing threats to international peace and security. In that regard, the Security Council must be aware of the potential security implications that climate change may entail, including possible humanitarian crises, migration pressures or external shocks for States most heavily affected by climate change. As well, the mandates and responsibilities of relevant United Nations bodies addressing the issue of climate change must be respected, specifically of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.

The importance of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) as a key instrument for addressing climate change cannot be overemphasized. In the same vein, the global nature of climate change calls for the widest possible cooperation by all countries on an effective and appropriate international response based on the principle of common but differentiated responsibility while respecting existing institutional arrangements.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is of the view that a coherent, integrated and holistic response by the United Nations is the only way to meaningfully contribute towards a response to this issue. In the same vein, we believe that the Secretary-General, when appropriate, should alert the Security Council to climate-related crisis situations that may imperil peace and security. It is crucial that relevant United Nations bodies strengthen their capacities to deal with different crises, including those resulting from climate change. Their efforts should be focused on predicting, preventing or handling climate change-related issues. In that context, assisting countries to manage external stresses and low adaptive capacity is vital.

We consider that stronger support for climate change adaptation in developing countries, including through investment in capacity-building at all levels, is necessary. When national capacities are insufficient, underdeveloped or overstretched by natural disasters or other hazardous events, the international community's response must be unwavering and adequately supported. Developed countries must also do more to meet their international commitments to development assistance. We believe that mainstreaming climate change within the relevant bodies of the United Nations and their activities should be continued and strengthened. Furthermore, improving the flow of information, sharing early warning assessments and exchanging data between regional and international organizations are essential.

In conclusion, climate change is a global challenge that can be tackled only at the global level. No country can deal with this problem alone. All actors must therefore work in a concerted manner and fully implement their commitments and responsibilities. Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a party to the UNFCCC and as a country that has ratified the Kyoto Protocol, stands ready to contribute to that endeavour.

Mrs. Ogwu (Nigeria): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this open debate and for the concept paper circulated by your delegation(S/2011/408, annex). I also thank the Secretary-General and Mr. Achim Steiner for their perceptive and inspiring statements. This debate is timely in that it affords us the opportunity to evaluate progress in implementing the internationally agreed development goals, conventions and protocols that frame our response to climate change. Through this discussion, we can also contribute effectively to preparations for the 2012 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development.

The challenges posed by climate change are immense and the consequences for peace and security wide-ranging. Every aspect of our lives, from food security to resource management, is threatened by this phenomenon. As we have witnessed in the current food crisis in the Horn of Africa, threats to water management, animal health and crop production are magnified by political instability and insecurity. Scarcity breeds fear, which in turn fuels conflict. This chain reaction demands vigilance on the part of the Security Council. Unless we take concerted action to mitigate and adapt, the risks will only increase. For example, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has estimated that a 1-metre sea-level rise could flood 18,000 square kilometres of Nigeria's coastal land, damage assets valued at $89 billion, and force the relocation of up to 5 million Nigerians. The cost of protecting Nigeria from such a rise in sea levels is estimated at $3 billion.

On the basis of those facts, we are gravely concerned about the potential impact of changing climate conditions. Nigeria is working with bilateral

and multilateral partners at the regional and international levels to identify solutions to these challenges. My Government has also sought to mainstream its mitigation and adaptation strategies with development policies aimed at significantly reducing carbon emissions and sustaining its campaign against desertification.

Nigeria remains committed to the Millennium Development Goals and the Green Wall Sahara (Nigeria) Programme, which seeks to ensure sustainable consumption and production. We have initiated mechanisms to address the issue of gas flaring, firmly determined to progressively transform it into liquefied gas processing. We are engaging in research on methods of carbon-dioxide reduction in petroleum products.

While we recognize that not every nation is equipped to implement root-and-branch policy change, it is important that every nation, no matter how small, play a small part. My delegation is concerned about the slow rate of progress in achieving agreement on implementing international climate change mitigation agreements. Nations have too often failed to honour their commitments to such frameworks, and such failures have reverberations everywhere. In many cases, the efforts of developing countries and small island developing States to adapt to the negative impacts of climate change are undermined by natural disasters and often by conflict. Our struggle to protect our climate should therefore reflect the additional challenges faced by such nations, and should feature in our wider peacebuilding frameworks.

I firmly believe that if we can support political stability, we can create the space for long-term capacity-building and the embedding of best practices and national policies for climate change. The United Nations system is uniquely placed to guide the implementation of the existing commitments in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and its Kyoto Protocol, the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation and the Mauritius Declaration.

Seated around this table are those who could encourage developed countries to implement their commitments to reducing emissions and supporting developing countries with the requisite technological and financial assistance to address climate change effectively. Nigeria therefore calls for enhanced efforts for the equitable distribution of adaptation funds and capacity-building programming, as well as promotion of the Global Environment Facility programme steered by the United Nations Development Programme.

Our response to climate change must be rooted in political and technological innovation. Our response to climate change should not be any less strong in the field of sustainable development. The General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Commission on Sustainable Development and the United Nations Environment Programme are credible and concrete platforms for effectively discussing and adopting appropriate measures for dealing with climate change. I want to reiterate my Government's commitment to relentlessly supporting, promoting and fulfilling all regional and international obligations for mitigating climate change in a collective effort that seeks to ensure the well-being of present and future generations. We will be steadfast in the collective effort that seeks to ensure that peace and stability are maintained in the world.

Sir Mark Lyall Grant (United Kingdom): The impacts of climate change are keenly felt around the world. Today, we are discussing the implications of climate change for international peace and security. We are grateful to the German presidency for bringing this important question to the Council. The number of countries speaking in this debate is a graphic demonstration of its significance, and I particularly want to thank the Secretary-General and Mr. Achim Steiner for their powerful contributions to our discussion.

Scientific evidence suggests that the effects of climate change will include more droughts, shorter growing seasons and more frequent extreme weather events. Those will be felt most keenly in areas of the world already experiencing stress from shortages of food, water and energy. It is just those areas where Governments do not always have the capacity to respond. It is in that context that climate change must be seen as a threat multiplier, exacerbating existing tensions and increasing the likelihood of conflict.

As a result of climate change, crop yields are predicted to fall in the long term. This will have serious repercussions for communities dependent on agriculture. At the same time, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations has estimated that global demand for food will increase by up to 70 per cent by 2050. Weaker production coupled with greater

demand will affect all countries. In areas where food security is already a source of instability, this impact of climate change has the obvious potential to fuel tension.

We have also heard this morning about the impacts of the rise of sea levels caused by climate change. These will be felt most acutely in low-lying and small island developing States. I welcome the fact that representatives of so many of those countries affected in the Pacific will participate in today's debate.

Resource scarcity, flooding and drought all are likely to result in significant movements of people, in some cases across national boundaries, as we are seeing today in the Horn of Africa. Where people move to areas that do not themselves have sufficient resources or infrastructure to accommodate them, the risk of tension and conflict is increased.

Some delegations have voiced concerns over the Council's mandate to discuss this issue. We agree that it is important that the different roles, functions and mandates of the various United Nations bodies dealing with climate change are fully respected. But like the Secretary-General and Mr. Steiner, we do not believe that this debate in any way undermines them.

The Council is tasked with the maintenance of international peace and security. It can and indeed should, therefore, consider emerging threats. Conflict prevention is a key element in the Council's work. The United Kingdom believes that it is through discussion and better awareness of new and cross-cutting security challenges, including the effects of climate change, that the Council can best fulfill its responsibility to prevent future conflict.

We therefore hope that even at this late stage we can reach agreement on the presidential statement drafted by the German presidency. This would send a powerful signal of the importance that the Security Council places on mitigating the security risks posed by climate change. History will not judge us kindly if, through complacency or ideology, we duck this important responsibility.

There are three key areas on which we should focus if we are to be effective in mitigating the security implications of climate change.

First, and pre-eminently, the United Nations must continue to work to achieve a comprehensive, globally binding agreement on climate change. Ongoing efforts under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change are crucial. The United Kingdom will do everything in our power to support preparations for the 17th Conference of the Parties in Durban, to be held later this year, including by supporting the South African presidency.

Secondly, we need to build up a deeper understanding of the interface between the impacts of climate change on the one hand and conflict drivers on the other. We then need to capture this understanding as we build the tools and take the action necessary to prevent conflict.

Finally, we need better sharing of analysis and experience among the various United Nations agencies, bodies and programmes that are already considering these issues. As food, water, energy and climate security are interlinked, they demand a coordinated response.

Left unchecked, climate change increases the likelihood of instability, resource conflict and poverty. That is why the United Kingdom first brought this issue to the Council for debate in 2007. It is ever more relevant and valuable for the Council to consider these impacts, and I thank Germany once again for having convened this debate today.

Mr. Pankin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We are grateful to the Secretary-General, Mr. Ban Ki-moon, for his statement, and to the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme, Mr. Steiner, for his assessment.

Russia has always viewed combating global climate change as a priority area for international cooperation. We have consistently advocated, and continue to advocate, the drafting and implementation of a global instrument covering all countries, particularly the largest emitters, and that greater account be taken of the potential of Russian forests to act as a carbon sink. The constructive nature of Russia's policy in this area is reflected in its announcement that it would reduce, by 2020, greenhouse-gas emissions by 10 to 25 per cent compared to 1990, within the framework of a new universal climate agreement.

However, we also believe that a particular role in humankind's transition to a non-carbon economy should be played by nuclear energy, on whose

development Russia will continue to focus, while, of course, improving safety systems at nuclear reactors and power stations. We would suggest that the review now under way within the United Nations on the issue of climate change allows us to respond to emerging threats in this area.

We are also convinced that the priority role in this area lies, and should continue to lie, with the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, as the universal mechanism for combating global climate change. The Convention has the necessary and sufficient mechanisms to develop both an effective international climate regime over the longer term and specific measures to respond effectively to new threats in this area.

We share the concern of small island developing States, in particular those situated in the Pacific Ocean, about the continuing rise in sea levels. We welcome the participation in this meeting of the President of Nauru, Mr. Stephen, whose country is faced with such a challenge. We believe that in order to properly address this problem, we must effectively use the existing potential of the Convention on Climate Change, the most fundamental area of which is that of adaptation, including through the Adaptation Fund. We call on all interested donor countries to consider the possibility of providing, on an urgent and targeted basis, aid to the countries concerned for the purpose of adaptation.

Given this, Russia is sceptical about the repeated attempts that have been made to place on the agenda of the Security Council the issue of the threat posed by climate change to international peace and security. As a compromise, we agreed to join the consensus when General Assembly resolution 63/281, on climate change and its possible security implications, was adopted. While we recognize the Security Council's prerogatives as the body that has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, we believe that referring to that resolution to justify consideration of this issue in the Council is not right. The resolution was the outcome of months of difficult negotiations in which all States Members of the United Nations participated and reflects the fact that many countries are not prepared to see the issue of climate placed on the agenda of the Council.

We would also suggest that the report of the General Assembly (A/64/350) bearing the same title and drafted pursuant to that resolution does not contain serious arguments to support the position of those States advocating that this issue be placed on the Council's agenda. The report refers only to hypothetical impacts of climate change on security and is not able to precisely predict them. It fails to provide empirical data establishing any correlation between these phenomena. Although it contains very balanced conclusions and recommendations on further work in this area, it is very telling that the Security Council is not once referred to in the report.

On that basis, we believe that involving the Security Council in a regular review of the issue of climate change would bring no added value whatsoever and would merely lead to a further politicization of the issue and increased disagreements among countries, which would be an extremely undesirable outcome, particularly in the wake of the successful conclusion of the Conference of Parties held in Cancún and before the Durban Conference.

Mr. Osorio (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, allow me to thank you, Mr. President, and Germany for having convened this open debate and for your great efforts and work to underscore and promote the importance of this topic. I also wish to welcome the President of Nauru, His Excellency Mr. Marcus Stephen, and to express our solidarity with him and his concerns.

The statements made by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and Achim Steiner, Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme, were very illuminating and important, and underscored the scale of the issues we must address when it comes to climate change.

Climate change as a global phenomenon affecting present and future generations is undoubtedly one of the greatest challenges in the history of humankind. Its impact today has consequences for almost all activities around the world, from life itself, desertification and rising sea level to the food supply, migration and the destruction of biodiversity. It is clear that action must be taken through the appropriate bodies and contexts, among which the reduction of man-made gas emissions is crucial. There are no excuses for the leading producers of man-made gas emissions failing to assume their responsibility before the world. There is also a need to provide for the transmission and transfer of clean new technologies and for access to markets on equal terms, as well as to protect biodiversity. These

are concepts related to the debate on the right to development, which is a legitimate aspiration that cannot be renounced.

The increase in temperature, the severe variations in historical patterns of rainfall, the increase in the intensity and frequency of extreme weather events, such as hurricanes and typhoons, are forcing serious discussion in the appropriate forums on the measures to be taken to adapt our societies to climate change.

Against that backdrop, Colombia believes that there are immediate challenges that must be considered in the Security Council. While the responses needed to minimize the effects of climate change are not within the mandate of the Council, we believe that this organ does have a responsibility to play a role in cases and conflict situations on its agenda when those are exacerbated by the effects of climate change, with a view to providing humanitarian protection measures, which we believe should not extend to other issues. Moreover, the Security Council should help to address this problem in a context of trust among countries, based on respect for the mandates of the respective bodies of the international system.

Several decades ago, we aspired to an integrated vision of progress, which we called sustainable development. That goal has proved elusive because our societies and economies are based on short-term, sector-specific and immediate approaches. The problems resulting from climate change must, in our view, be addressed in a comprehensive way, encompassing all the spheres and structures of human activity and the need to adopt new behaviours. It is a challenge for which most countries, which have only barely made progress on various fronts of development, are not prepared.

How should we prioritize resources and efforts? How should we address the problems of disappearing coastlines, overflowing rivers, melting glaciers, expanding deserts and successive freezes and droughts? No single country, group of countries or specific body has the answers. Just as curbing and reducing greenhouse gas emissions will require coordinated action at the global level, responding to the impacts of climate change will also require concerted international action.

Colombia has just suffered two atypical cold spells, unprecedented in our history, whose destruction experts estimate at 10 times that wrought by Hurricane Katrina. We had to mobilize extra resources and turn to international assistance to mitigate the damage and destruction and ensure the well-being of the population affected. The integrity of natural ecosystems we depend on was seriously affected.

The problem is therefore not only a matter for future generations; it is a reality facing us today. The survival of millions of people depends on action based on international solidarity to reduce gas emissions, to ensure access to food, to positively respond to migration forced by climate impacts, disease and pest vectors, infrastructure investment, the disappearance of thousands of species, ocean acidification and the inequitable distribution of fresh water worldwide, among many other serious situations.

Colombia clearly has the political will to work together to safeguard our planet. We believe that collective commitment is needed to achieve sustainable development in peace and prosperity.

Mr. Araud (France) (*spoke in French*): France associates itself with the statement to be delivered on behalf of the European Union.

Since the last debate in the Council on climate change was in 2007 (see S/PV.5663), science has progressed, the facts have been confirmed and the risks have been further analysed, as Mr. Steiner set out in his statement. I therefore pay tribute to the German presidency of the Security Council for the initiative to hold a debate on the impact of climate change on international peace and security.

The climate threat concerns us all. It is, in particular, a threat for our small island Pacific State partners, whose very existence is in peril, as is the survival of their territory, culture and identity. The President of the Republic of Nauru, Mr. Marcus Stephen, whose presence I welcome in the Council today, is better placed than I to speak about the immense challenges affecting the islands of his region. I regret enormously that we cannot respond to his appeal.

In addition, agricultural productivity is under threat. My country has made food security a priority of its presidency of the Group of 20. How can we maintain international peace and security if a situation of chronic food shortages sets in?

It is also a threat in terms of water resources in regions where these are rare, and generates tension.

How can we ensure appropriate management if they become yet scarcer?

It is also a menace for the viability of coastal regions, where more than one third of the world population lives.

The facts are clear: climate change has an immense destabilizing potential and could multiply the threats to peace and security in the most fragile regions and States.

The international community is mobilizing to tackle the various challenges posed by climate change. There is still time to avoid its worst effects, but we must act fast. There is only one way to do this, namely, international cooperation.

We must begin a new stage in formulating an ambitious multilateral response at the Durban Conference. We must give operational impetus to the agreements negotiated at Cancún. We must also safeguard the Kyoto Protocol and move towards a broader legal instrument.

We must also work to respond to sector-specific threats and promote partnerships. This is the objective of the World Water Forum, to be held in Marseille in March 2012.

Access to clean energy for all is another major priority, because development is itself a way of responding to climate change and can contribute to preventing and reducing conflicts. It is in this context that France and Kenya together launched the Paris-Nairobi Initiative last April.

Lastly, we must reinvigorate global partnerships for sustainable development and adopt, in Rio in June 2012, an ambitious road map for a global transition towards a green economy supported by solid, financially strong and effective institutions.

The international community has seen the diversity of risks related to climate change and is taking measures in various forums. In this context, the implications of climate change for maintaining international peace and security should be taken into account. In conformity with its mandate, the Security Council must therefore assume its responsibilities.

The Council is not infringing on the competence of other United Nations bodies and does not want to replace other forums, in particular that under the Convention on Climate Change. The Council today is simply facing up to a new type of threats that are multiform, complex and diffuse. In that spirit we are exploring today the implications of these threats and the Council's capacity to deal with them. Thus last February the Security Council, under the presidency of Brazil, held a useful debate on peace, security and development (see S/PV.6479). It is in the same spirit that today the Council is considering climate change — while strictly respecting its mandate and the Charter in particular in the area of preventing conflicts.

My delegation therefore regrets that the Security Council is not responding in the same way as it did in the debate on security and development. Despite the efforts by the presidency, the Council is not ready to make a collective statement today on the implications of climate change for the maintenance of international peace and security. To oppose with bureaucratic concerns the anguished appeals by our partners threatened by climate change does not rise to the issues at stake. It is not dignified.

Nevertheless, we are faced with reality. The need will remain for the Security Council to endeavour to analyze the threats and to better know the causes of conflict on which climate change will have the most immediate effects. The Council must also take account of the impact of its own decisions. For example, it must, as of today, take measures to ensure that peacekeeping operations reduce their carbon emissions and their impact on the environment. I therefore welcome the fact that the Secretariat has already taken measures in that regard.

Today's debate is just a first stage. It must be for all of us in the United Nations a call for action. The climate threat means that we must mobilize ourselves: first in the short term, to ensure the success of the Climate Conference in Durban and the Climate Change Conference in Rio; in the medium term, to prevent conflicts that could emerge; and in the long term to save the planet. My delegation is convinced that the Security Council must come back to this and in the future must express itself in a single voice. This is not over-ambitious; it is just taking account of the sad realities that we face.

Mr. Salam (Lebanon): I would like to thank Secretary-General Ban for his important introductory remarks, and the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme, Mr. Steiner, for his stimulating briefing. I also wish to thank you,

Mr. President, for organizing this debate in the Security Council on the impact of climate change in the context of the maintenance of international peace and security.

At the outset, allow me to stress, along with my partners in the Arab Group, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 and China, that we consider, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 63/281, that in the United Nations system the responsibility for sustainable development issues, including climate change, is conferred upon the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council and that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change is the key instrument for addressing climate change.

Yet, focusing our discussion today on the potential security implications of climate change will not constitute an encroachment by the Security Council on the functions and powers of other United Nations organs, for the same General Assembly resolution, 63/281, also

> "Invites the relevant organs of the United Nations, as appropriate and within their respective mandates, to intensify their efforts in considering and addressing climate change, including its possible security implications".

In this same vein, in addition to increasing awareness about the potential security impact of climate change, our debate today should be viewed as an expression of complementarity in the work of the different organs of the United Nations.

There is broad agreement within the scientific community that our planet has been warming, due largely to human activities at least since the eighteenth century, and that the rate of warming in the last century was historically high. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change confirmed in 2007 the historic magnitude of these changes and warned of their potential impacts on the future of the Earth and its inhabitants.

As to the relationship between climate change and conflict, including armed conflict, the 2009 report of the Secretary-General (A/64/350) identified climate change as a threat multiplier exacerbating threats caused by persistent poverty and weak institutions for resource management and conflict resolution. Emerging threats related to climate change include sea-level rise, which could result in the loss of entire countries such as the small island States; accelerated desertification and erosion of agricultural land, which could lead to food insecurity, increased poverty and reverse development; migratory and displacement flows, which could become a source of social and political tensions in the neighbouring areas; and water scarcity, which could exacerbate competition over natural resources.

No region on the surface of the globe is immune. But it is important to underline that the impact of climate change will be greater where factors of fragility already exist. This is the case of the least developed countries.

The global nature of climate change requires the cooperation of all countries, in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities and their respective capabilities. It is also important to keep in mind that the international community cannot win the battle against the detrimental consequences of climate change without putting into action all the relevant instruments in its possession.

In this context, United Nations organs should, within their respective mandates, mobilize all their resources in the fields of mitigation, adaptation, finance, technology development and transfer, and capacity-building in order to address and reduce the negative effects of global warming. Here, the Security Council should, inter alia, play a critical role of conflict prevention in addressing, as early as possible, the potential security implications of climate change.

Mr. Mashabane (South Africa): We would like to thank the Secretary-General for his statement this morning. Equally, we wish to express our sincere gratitude to Mr. Achim Steiner, Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme, for his extensive briefing. We welcome the presence of His Excellency Mr. Marcus Stephen, President of the Republic of Nauru, in this room. His presence here today can only be a demonstration of the real challenge that sea-level rise presents to his country and to other low-lying areas.

At the outset I wish to associate my delegation with the statements to be made by the representative of Argentina on behalf of the Group of 77 and China and by the representative of Egypt on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

South Africa reaffirms General Assembly resolution 63/281, which invites the relevant organs of the United Nations, as appropriate and within their respective mandates, to intensify their efforts in considering and addressing climate change, including its possible security implications. In that regard, the convening of this debate is timely and opportune to highlight the reality of climate change and the threat it poses to African and developing countries in general and to the small island developing States (SIDS) and least developing countries (LDCs) in particular. It is those countries who bear the disproportionate impact of climate change.

We would like to reiterate the well-known principled position of the Group of 77 and China that climate change threatens not only development prospects and the achievement of sustainable development, but also the very existence and survival of societies.

The *Fourth Assessment Report* of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change makes it clear that if no action on climate change is taken in the next few years, there will be dire consequences, in particular for the small island developing States that are already experiencing slow onset effects of this phenomenon. This enjoins us to deal with this global problem in an equitable manner. In that regard, we join other delegations in calling for the full and effective implementation of the commitments under the Barbados Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States and the Mauritius Strategy for the Further Implementation of the Programme.

Developing countries are working hard to eradicate poverty and underdevelopment and to improve quality of life for our people. However, we continue to be confronted by a lack of resources and are relatively less prepared to deal with the consequences of climate change. Least developed countries, especially in Africa and Asia, as well as small island developing States, cannot shoulder those costs. It is for that reason that we continue to call for, first, the scaling up of resources; secondly, the transfer of technology and, thirdly, capacity-building to help developing countries to deal with the grave consequences of climate change.

South Africa firmly believes that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Kyoto Protocol remain the best instruments to deal with the broader challenges of climate change. It is important that we all continue honour our obligations under the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol if we are to effectively deal with the challenges precipitated by climate change. That has to be in accordance with the fundamental principle of common but differentiated responsibilities. The UNFCCC affords all Member States, including small island developing States and LDCs, an opportunity to advance their cause while ensuring robust engagement with the partners.

The contribution that the members of the Security Council can make to these UNFCCC processes is to ensure that the architecture of the climate change regime is strengthened and not fragmented. Such a global challenge can be effectively dealt with only through a strong rules-based international system. The UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol should be strengthened, and a second commitment period should be finalized as soon as possible.

Finally, for South Africa, as President of the seventeenth Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC, this debate provides an opportunity to raise awareness and exchange views in order to intensify global efforts to address climate change, first as a sustainable development issue and, secondly, to re-emphasize the need to retain the climate change debate within the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol.

For our part, we will spare no effort in ensuring that the parties strive for a balanced and credible outcome in Durban that is party-driven. In that regard, we will rely on the bureau, work optimally with the secretariat of the UNFCCC and consult with the parties and their regional groups in an inclusive and transparent manner.

Mr. Moungara Moussotsi (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): Combating climate change is one of the main thrusts of His Excellency President Ali Bongo Ondimba's L'avenir en confiance project. My delegation therefore fully supports Germany's initiative to have the Security Council consider, for the second time, the security implications of climate change, which is a phenomenon that has been at the heart of the international community's concerns for many years.

We would like to thank the Secretary-General and the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme for their detailed statements.

As members are aware, on 17 April 2007, under the presidency of the United Kingdom, the Council held a historic debate on this important issue, focused on the issues of energy, security and climate. As witnessed by the negotiations on the draft presidential statement, which unfortunately did not enjoy consensus, many continue to express strong reservations as to the relevancy of the Security Council taking up this issue. My delegation remains convinced of the contrary.

It is increasingly clear that climate change leads to water scarcity, which is a source of tensions among riparian countries, such as those in Central Asia, and among communities in those countries. This also happens in numerous African countries. In other cases, climate change helps to exacerbate conflicts and imbalances in the world's ecosystems. Without effective cooperation, climate change could not only lead to cross-border population movements; it could also significantly contribute to making energy, biological, forest and aquatic resources even more scarce. It is precisely because of the cross-cutting nature of this phenomenon that greater involvement by the Security Council is required.

Given developments on the international stage, the maintenance of international peace and security is no longer unidimensional. The military perspective continues to be important, but it alone cannot be how we define the convergence of threats that today impact our collective security. Faced with new threats to international peace and security, the Council should have the tools to allow it to assess both the scope and gravity of a situation, and therefore to act in advance. In our view, preventive diplomacy is a tool that can help States, as part of a synergistic effort, to reduce the effects of new threats. In that regard, my delegation welcomes the considerable assistance provided to States by United Nations regional offices in developing and implementing prevention strategies.

Beyond our differences of opinion on this central issue, it is crucial that the Security Council define, in cooperation with other relevant United Nations bodies, a framework for cooperation aimed at more effectively combating this phenomenon. The effects of climate change are real and are already having an impact on our daily lives. Temperatures are rising, and extreme weather events are becoming more frequent.

Owing to its low adaptation capacity, Africa is one of the continents that is most vulnerable to climate change. We draw the international community's attention to the need to help Africa to address this phenomenon. The same goes for island States, which are increasingly exposed to the devastating effects of climate change and whose survival depends upon our commitment to act with the greatest urgency. The concerns of those States will be set out in the statement to be made later by His Excellency Mr. Marcus Stephen, President of the Republic of Nauru, whose presence at this debate I would like to welcome.

Lastly, I would like to assure the Council that, for its part, Gabon will continue to closely associate itself with international efforts aimed at reducing the negative effects of climate change.

Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri (India): At the outset, I would like to thank the Secretary-General and Executive Director Achim Steiner of the United Nations Environment Programme for their statements. The interest and participation that today's open debate has evoked testifies to the importance that we all attach to the subject of climate change. I would therefore like to particularly acknowledge the presence of His Excellency the President of Nauru and of other dignitaries in our midst today. I look forward to hearing their views on the issue under our consideration. It is a challenge that lies at the forefront of the global development agenda and that is close to the hearts of small island States, for which it poses an existential threat.

Climate change, in an overarching sense, is beginning to impact the security of the global community in the same way as poverty, food security and underdevelopment continue to undermine international well-being. Sweeping generalizations about climate change leading to droughts, floods, changes in weather patterns, water and food scarcity, and violent conflicts are, however, yet to be fully tested against empirical and scientific analyses.

The *Fourth Assessment Report* of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and other scientific authorities unequivocally speak of this uncertainty. This is also corroborated by the Secretary-General's report entitled "Climate Change and its possible security implications", which concludes that

> "[w]hile climate modelling has made considerable advances in forecasting the future behaviour of natural systems over long time spans, the science of climate change and its physical impacts still confronts a number of uncertainties" (*A/64/350, para. 8*).

Sea-level rise, on the other hand, is happening. There is verifiable evidence to suggest sea-level increases of a metre or more by 2100, which could lead to the disappearance of several small island States and the submergence of low-lying coastal areas in many littoral States. We are particularly aware of its gravity, given the vulnerability of our own people living on island chains and in coastal areas. There are also issues of statelessness and the displacement of people that are deeply worrisome.

Faced with these challenges, what must the global community do? The answer quite clearly lies first and foremost in taking remedial action today rather than in focusing on the implications of such climate-induced disasters in the distant future.

The concept paper for this debate (S/2011/408, annex) states that the purpose of today's engagement is to allow the Council to deliberate the security implications of climate change, consistent with its mandate, and to advance the dialogue on this issue from the security perspective. In this context, it is worth keeping in mind that while the Security Council can debate the issue and may recognize the vulnerabilities and threats induced by climate change, it does not have the wherewithal to address the situation. The existential threat to island States or the emergence of food insecurity as a result of climate change cannot be resolved or remedied by the Council under Article 39 of the United Nations Charter. Clearly, these issues need a broader approach anchored in development, adaptive capacity, risk assessment and institutional build-up. We therefore have some difficulty in accepting the assertion that the effects of climate change go beyond the mandate of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

If we are serious about addressing the vulnerabilities arising out of climate change, then our deliberations on climate change must focus on reducing greenhouse gas emissions and strengthening the adaptive capacities of vulnerable countries. Our agreed global goal for climate stabilization by limiting the increase in global average temperature below 2°C above preindustrial levels needs to be backed by mitigation commitments based on the principles of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities and equity. Preserving the structure of the Kyoto Protocol and its second commitment period, the early disbursement of the Fast Start Finance agreed at Cancún and the operationalization of the Green Climate Fund, the Technology Mechanism and the Adaptation Committee are vital to imparting a renewed momentum to the UNFCCC process.

Those who are historically responsible for climate change must come forward with firm greenhouse gas commitments and ensure that there is adequate resource and technology flow to developing countries, in particular the small island States, to allow them to adapt to climate change. If we are successful in undertaking the necessary mitigation and adaptation measures, our preoccupations about the security implications of climate change, which in any case are yet to be fully established, would to a large extent be put to rest. This would also lighten the burden of preventive diplomacy, which has been so passionately argued for by some delegations.

In our view, what constitutes a bigger concern for international peace and security today is the threat that developing countries face from possible conflicts arising out of inadequate resources for development and poverty eradication. Sustained economic growth and development must therefore be pursued in order to allow developing countries to alleviate poverty and meet basic standards of living for all. This in itself will make them more resilient to climate change vulnerabilities.

The concept paper also highlights the vulnerability of food security while postulating its veritable nexus with climate change impact. That may well be the case. However, our recent experience of food scarcity, as arose in 2008, and high inflation this year point to the preponderance of factors far removed from climate change that are holding global food security to ransom. Agricultural protectionism, excessive speculation in food commodity trading and the diversion of crops to non-food purposes are leading us to an unsustainable global food situation. This calls for urgent global attention.

Our efforts to deliberate the possible security implications of climate change will bear fruit only if we realize where the centre of gravity on this issue lies. We must not confuse political motion with action. Climate change needs the collective understanding and support of all Member States. Action must therefore lie in the UNFCCC. When confronted with the question of an existential threat to the small island States, I am reminded of the words of Mahatma Gandhi that "all compromise is based on give and take, but there can be no give and take on fundamentals". Let us do our best for the small island States and for humankind.

Mr. Moraes Cabral (Portugal): Like you, Sir, I wish to warmly His Excellency the President of the Republic of Nauru to the Council. His presence does indeed illustrate the seriousness of the challenges facing his country and other small island developing States (SIDS).

I thank the German presidency and you yourself, Mr. President, for having organized this debate on the security implications of climate change, an issue to which Portugal has been strongly attached for many years. I thank the Secretary-General for his important statement, and I also wish to thank Mr. Steiner for his very useful presentation. These are indeed serious threats to some regions of our planet, as Mr. Steiner eloquently illustrated.

As I have repeatedly stated, Portugal does not see the Security Council as the forum for climate change negotiations or even for discussions on measures to mitigate and adapt to environmental vulnerabilities. These issues belong to other contexts that have the legitimacy and the appropriate tools to address them. It is, however, the Council's role to recognize and deal with new challenges and to ensure that such challenges do not lead to tensions and ultimately to conflict. Therefore, there is, in our view, an added value in the Security Council discussing the impact that certain consequences of climate change may have for international stability, peace and security. For the same reason, Portugal hopes that we may still be able to find a consensus on an outcome for our discussions today.

We strongly believe that we should be able to develop concrete strategies for coherent, integrated and comprehensive responses of United Nations institutions, including the Security Council, to address these risks. The case for such an approach is particularly relevant when it is called for by those Members of the United Nations particularly affected by climate change and whose very existence is at risk. I would like to mention again the particular case of the Pacific SIDS, for which the negative effects of climate change are no longer a possible scenario but a very concrete reality. Sea-level rise may, in time, lead to the loss of entire territories, but those island States may become uninhabitable long before that.

When that occurs, there are a number of issues that need to be answered and that have clear international implications. How do we deal with populations that need to be resettled? Where do they go? How do they get there? How does one manage and defuse the tensions that resettlement entails? How do we address the legal consequences of the loss of territory, such as the definition of borders, economic zones and continental shelf rights? Our failure to deal collectively with such questions may lead not only to humanitarian disaster but also to a surge of serious tensions in a vast region, threatening peace. I am sure that President Marcus Stephen will give us a very vivid analysis of those problems in all their complexity.

Desertification and its effects on food production and water availability should also merit our attention in this debate, since its consequences are often felt across national borders. Let us remember that 47 per cent of all land area falls within international river basins and that over 200 river basins are multinational. As water demands increase, tensions or even conflict over water resources will also increase.

Desertification and increasing food scarcity as an effect of climate change are also reasons for the involuntary displacement of populations, a link recently recognized by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr. António Guterres, in his report on climate change, natural disasters and human displacement. This is first and foremost a humanitarian and development issue but, as we are all aware, the strongest impact of desertification is felt in countries with social and economic vulnerabilities, some of them emerging from long periods of conflict and instability. If the movement of populations due to desertification has a cross-border or even a regional dimension, then it is very likely that its security implications will go beyond the borders of a particular State and may derail progress in post-conflict stabilization and peacebuilding efforts.

If properly addressed, the security challenges whose effects are amplified by climate change do not necessarily lead to conflict. As with many other issues that the Security Council discusses on a regular basis, we believe that in this domain we should likewise give priority to a preventive approach and to the development of early-warning mechanisms. We should also actively discuss the security impact of climate change with other international organizations that are already addressing the issue from a security perspective, including the European Union and the African Union. We must consider how our actions may complement and reinforce each other for a more effective response. In that context, Portugal, as a member of the European Union, naturally shares the position that will be later expressed by Ambassador Pedro Serrano on these issues. Indeed, global problems call for collective responses, and this is particularly important when resources are scarce.

In conclusion, the effects of climate change are likely to increase in the near future. What we are discussing here today as possible security implications will likely become increasingly evident. That is why we believe that today's debate should not be a one-off event, but rather a step towards a consistent and regular consideration of the issue by the Security Council, based on reliable information on specific situations where climate-related phenomena are negatively affecting peace and security. That would allow us to have a more complete understanding of the complex links between climate, development and security, and therefore strengthen our capacity to prevent conflict and promote international cooperation.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my national capacity.

Germany aligns itself with the statement to be made by the observer of the European Union.

At the outset, I would like to join others in thanking the Secretary-General for participating in today's debate. His remarks and his presence are a strong signal of the engagement of the United Nations in the debate on climate change and its security implications. Let me also join my colleagues in thanking the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme, Mr. Steiner, for his insightful and very instructive briefing.

Over one year ago, the Pacific small island States urged the Security Council to consider the security implications of climate change. They appealed to the Security Council to fulfil its mandate for the maintenance of international peace and security. The reason why those countries urged the Security Council to act is clear: already today they suffer from the security implications of climate change. They have to deal with rising sea levels, loss of land and increasing scarcity of resources. The Governments of those countries have to resettle their people and ensure that the distribution of basic commodities does not turn into violent fights for survival. For them the security dimension of climate change is crystal clear. It is their daily challenge.

The situation of the small island States is a compelling reason in and of itself to discuss today's matter in the Security Council. At this point, it might be useful to remember that the United Nations has always drawn its unique legitimacy from the equality of States. Big or small, rich or poor, each State has the same right for its existential fears and threats to be addressed.

There is, however, even more reason for the Council to debate the security dimension of climate change, because what happens to some small island States today might well happen to other countries tomorrow. Most national security establishments consider the threat of global warming as one of the biggest challenges of the twenty-first century. If we take a look at the conflicts on the agenda of the Council, we will easily see that quite a few of these conflicts are, already today, driven by desertification, lack of water and increased trans-border migration. We have no doubt that the environmental degradation due to climate change very often acts as a driver of conflict. We all know that conflicts of this sort do not remain isolated within a single country but, on the contrary, tend to destabilize whole regions. We should also keep in mind that not all States and societies have the same capacity to adapt to the dramatic changes in their environment.

The mandate of the Security Council is the maintenance of international peace and security. We are convinced that it is the Council's duty to act with foresight and to do its best to prevent crises before they become acute. We therefore welcome the fact that the Council has successfully debated structural aspects of conflicts before, such as the interrelatedness of development or HIV/AIDS with security.

Keeping in mind the mandate of the Security Council, we suggested that today's debate be focussed strictly on the security implications of climate change. Let me be very clear: Germany does not want the Council to infringe upon the competences of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change or other United Nations organs. We did not, and do not, intend to advance any kind of encroachment.

We regret that it was not possible, at least up to now, to find agreement on an outcome document for today's meeting. I would like to reiterate that Germany has a keen interest in a Security Council that rises beyond the day-to-day management of acute crises but takes into consideration the underlying causes of conflict. It was our intention to ask the Secretary-General for a sound basis for these discussions. While we would have preferred, and still prefer, that the Council find common ground on this request, the strong interest of the membership in today's debate makes one thing clear, namely, that the Members want to see this topic on the agenda of the Council.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I request the Protocol Officer to escort His Excellency Mr. Marcus Stephen, President of the Republic of Nauru, to a seat at the Council table.

Mr. Marcus Stephen, President of the Republic of Nauru, was escorted to a seat at the Council table.

The President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Marcus Stephen, President of the Republic of Nauru.

President Stephen: I would like to begin by thanking Germany for hosting this important debate on climate change and its implication for the maintenance of international peace and security.

I have the honour to speak on behalf of the Pacific small island developing States — the region most vulnerable to climate change — namely, Fiji, the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, Tonga, Vanuatu and my country, the Republic of Nauru — as well as the countries of Maldives, Seychelles and Timor-Leste.

Last month, the International Energy Agency announced that in 2010 carbon dioxide emissions reached their highest level in history. Last year also tied as the hottest year on record, and the volume of Arctic sea ice dropped to its lowest level since measurements began, while catastrophic droughts, forest fires and floods wreaked havoc on countries around the world. Scientists now project that seas will rise by a metre or more by the end of the century — a level that could wipe out many small islands in the Pacific and elsewhere. All this happened despite 20 years of negotiations to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to a safe level.

We must now come to terms with an unsettling reality: there is so much carbon dioxide in the atmosphere that serious impacts are now unavoidable, and we must prepare.

In my frustration, I often wonder where we would be if the roles were reversed. What if the pollution coming from our island nations was threatening the very existence of the major emitters? What would be the nature of today's debate be under those circumstances? But that is not the world that we live in, and this is not a hypothetical exercise for us. Many of our countries face the single greatest security challenge of all, that is, our survival. For that reason, we have come to the Security Council today.

Because of climate change, our islands face dangerous and potentially catastrophic impacts that threaten to destabilize our societies and political institutions. Our food security, water security and public safety are already being undermined. Sea-level rise is eroding our coastlines and in some cases is damaging critical infrastructure. Loss of territory could disrupt traditional systems of land ownership and spark conflicts over land and other increasingly scarce resources. Eventually, some islands may disappear altogether, and with them thousands of years of cultural heritage. That would force large numbers of our citizens to relocate, first internally, then across borders. Even with an ambitious new agreement to address climate change, many of these impacts are now unavoidable.

The Security Council has recognized that it has a role in preventing conflict before it occurs, not just in facilitating its resolution afterwards. For that reason, it has recognized the necessity of addressing the root causes of conflict, unconventional security threats that

can give rise to social tension and civil unrest, such as poverty, underdevelopment, competition over natural resources and HIV/AIDS. For such issues and others, the Security Council has evaluated the problems and, in concert with other organs of the United Nations, has deployed a variety of tools to address them.

Today, we ask no less of the Council. The international response to climate change must be comprehensive, particularly given its global nature and implications for every aspect of society.

Make no mistake: the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change — the UNFCCC — is and must remain the primary forum for developing an international strategy to mitigate climate change, mobilize financial resources, and facilitate adaptation, planning and project implementation. The General Assembly must continue to address the links between climate change and sustainable development.

Likewise, the Security Council has a clear role in coordinating a response to the security implications of climate change. In the 2009 General Assembly resolution on climate change and its possible security implications (resolution 63/281), we agreed that all relevant organs of the United Nations, within their respective mandates, should intensify their efforts to address climate change, including its possible security implication. An effective international response requires disaster planning and preparedness, detailed assessments of vulnerability and risk, more effective multilateral coordination and preventive diplomacy.

In our conversations with Security Council members, we have heard loud and clear that they understand the security challenges faced by the Pacific and other island nations and that they stand in solidarity with us. However, solidarity demands more than sympathetic words demonstrated by formally recognizing that climate change is a threat to international peace and security. It is a threat as great as nuclear proliferation or terrorism, and it carries the potential to destabilize Governments and ignite conflict. Neither nuclear proliferation nor terrorism has ever led to the disappearance of an entire nation, though that is what we are confronted with today.

The Security Council has also asked us what concrete steps it can take to address the issue. Allow me to tell it.

The Council should start by requesting the immediate appointment of a special representative on climate and security. That individual's primary responsibility should be to analyse the projected security impacts of climate change so that the Council and all Member States can understand what lies ahead. The Council should also request an assessment of the capacity of the United Nations system to respond to such impacts so that vulnerable countries can be assured that it is up to the task.

These proposals are the absolute minimum required to move the international community from a culture of reaction to one of preparedness. As the Secretary-General concluded in his report on climate change and its possible security implications, "the international community must anticipate and prepare itself to address a number of largely unprecedented challenges posed by climate change for which existing mechanisms may prove inadequate" (*see A/64/350, p.28*).

Many countries have expressed concerns about the Security Council encroaching on the mandate of the General Assembly and the UNFCCC. We understand and share this concern, which is why our proposals have been narrowly tailored to address the security implications of climate change. However, we are more concerned about the physical encroachment of the rising seas on our island nations.

We are deeply disappointed that there will be no formal outcome to this debate. Let history recall that once again we have sounded the alarm and the world chose not to act. The Security Council must reflect current geopolitical realities if it is to remain relevant, both in its membership and in the substance of its work. We applaud its recent decision to explore the security implications of such divergent topics as development; cultural and religious tolerance; HIV/AIDS; and women, peace and security. Yet the Council would render itself irrelevant if it chose to ignore the biggest security threat of our time.

Let me be absolutely clear: The security risks of climate change are all the more reason to urgently reach a legally binding agreement under the UNFCCC. The international community must work towards more ambitious emissions reductions from all major emitters. The current pledges are grossly inadequate and would condemn many small Pacific States, Members of the United Nations that belong to the

Alliance of Small Island States, and the world to a future marked by widespread conflict and unrest.

The Security Council is entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security under the United Nations Charter. Representative of many of the world's current and aspiring Powers sit before me today. I urge them not to bury their heads in the sand and to seize this opportunity to lead. I implore them to fulfil their mandate by dealing responsibly with the security implications of climate change.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Australia.

Mr. Marles (Australia): May I start by thanking Germany for the opportunity to address the Council on the security implications of climate change. May I also say what an honour it is for me to follow, in addressing the Council, my colleague and good friend, His Excellency Mr. Marcus Stephen, President of Nauru.

Climate change is a global threat, not an abstract concern. It is already seriously affecting the planet. Carbon dioxide levels are at their highest point in more than a million years. It is an existential threat to many small island developing States and low-lying countries. The effects of climate change could reshape the future global security environment by affecting the political and social stability and economic security of vulnerable countries. Increased extreme weather events could further worsen food and water security challenges, undermine community development, compromise critical infrastructure, weaken State governance and strain social cohesion. All countries will face the adverse impacts of climate change, but the most vulnerable peoples worldwide, who are least responsible for the global challenges we are now facing, will suffer the most.

As the Australian Parliamentary Secretary for Pacific Island Affairs, I have travelled to some of the countries that will be most affected by climate change. Indeed, 20 of Australia's 22 closest neighbours are developing countries, most of them small island developing States.

In our region, one of the most significant impacts of climate change will likely be sea-level rise caused by a thermal expansion of the world's oceans and melting glaciers and ice caps. Sea levels may rise by up to 1 metre by the end of this century, resulting in more severe storm surges, coastal inundation and loss of territory. Never before has the international community had to grapple with the reality that islands and low-lying territories might become uninhabitable as a result of sea-level rise. For low-lying island States such as the Marshall Islands, a 1-metre rise in sea level could result in the erosion and loss of as much as 80 per cent of the nation's capital, the Marshall Islands Majuro Atoll.

When one stands on Majuro as I have, with nowhere else to go, and sees the sea on either side of that thin and flat strip of land, there is a sense of the intense vulnerability felt by those living on small islands. The sea, which is everywhere and has long been a source of food, sustenance and comfort, is being transformed into a source of anxiety and threat. In the short-to-medium term, a combination of sea-level rise, storms of greater intensity and inundation will put greater pressure on coastal settlements and may lead to further local displacements of populations. In the longer term, if internal resettlement is no longer an option, climate change could cause destabilizing population movements as peoples' lives and livelihoods are increasingly subject to risk.

Vulnerability to climate change is not limited, of course, to island countries. Drought, flooding and soil erosion exacerbated by climate change pose significant threats to agricultural productivity and food and water security in Africa and elsewhere. Desertification has already consumed significant areas of land and will continue to reduce the amount of arable land as climate change worsens.

The only way to tackle the global challenge of climate change is through robust global cooperation and strong domestic action. Both are indispensable. Both are complementary. We know that there has been some concern about where responsibility for addressing climate change lies within the United Nations system. First, let me reaffirm that, in Australia's view, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is the primary intergovernmental instrument for addressing climate change. Australia's commitment to that process was demonstrated by our domestic policy reform inspired by the UNFCCC. On 10 July, Australian Prime Minister Gillard announced that we will legislate a carbon price to take effect from 1 July 2012. This has been a difficult political debate in Australia but a fundamentally critical piece of public policy reform. In 2020, our carbon price will have reduced Australia's

carbon pollution by 160 million tons — the equivalent of taking 45 million cars off the road by 2020.

Secondly, let me equally reaffirm our commitment to the fundamental role of the General Assembly. Its unique and indisputable legitimacy reflects the voice of its 193 members. Our commitment to that role of the General Assembly is why Australia was such a strong proponent of its resolution 63/281 in June 2009, which specifically stated that the overarching responsibility for sustainable development issues, including climate change, rests with the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. We considered it right and essential that this matter be first addressed by the General Assembly. It was the General Assembly that then invited all the relevant organs of the United Nations to intensify their efforts in order to consider all aspects of climate change, including its possible security implications.

In this process, it seems to us that the Security Council has a role to play as the principal organ directly responsible for maintaining international peace and security. That role includes consideration of the root causes of conflict and political and social crises. The Council addresses those issues through many topics, including, for example, poverty and HIV/AIDS. A focus on the potential security implications of climate change is therefore relevant to its mandate and does not — and should not — compete with the mandates of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council or the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

But ultimately, the question as to where the responsibility for the issue of climate change lies is an easy one. The overwhelming nature of the challenge of climate change means that the responsibility lies with all of us, in every forum. Australia remains seriously committed to helping developing countries tackle climate change. Least developed countries, small island developing States and Africa have been given the highest priority in the allocation of Australia's fast-start package because they need it most urgently. These are not the countries most responsible for the current crisis we face, but they are the countries that will bear the greatest burden. Of our $599 million fast-start funding commitment made at Copenhagen, Australia has so far allocated $498 million, more than 80 per cent.

In conclusion, Australia recognizes that climate change is a threat to the stability of individual countries and regions and has broad implications for future global security. That is why we have supported this debate. We also support calls for a report from the Secretary-General on the capacity of the United Nations system to respond to those impacts and on how that capacity can be improved. Failure to act now on the potential security implications of climate change will exacerbate risks in the future. Improving resilience, integrating climate risk into vulnerable sectors of our economies, and strengthening our disaster management capabilities are just some of the urgent responses we must make to address these security challenges. No serious Member State can deny that climate change is a primordial threat to our planet. We owe it to ourselves, to future generations, and to the future of the planet itself to anticipate and act to reduce that threat.

The President: Once again, let me remind all speakers that, in accordance with the understanding reached among Council members, statements should be limited to no more than four minutes in order to enable the Council to carry out its work expeditiously. Longer versions of statements can be distributed in writing.

I now give the floor to the representative of Egypt.

Mr. Abdelaziz (Egypt): I have the pleasure to deliver this statement on behalf of the States members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in the open debate on the impact of climate change on the maintenance of international peace and security. I would like to begin by expressing the Movement's appreciation to the Secretary-General and Mr. Steiner for their statements to the Council today.

The Movement's position regarding the Security Council's repeated attempts to deal with climate change issues is reflected in a letter dated 12 April 2007 from the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of Cuba on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2007/203); in the statement delivered by the representative of Cuba on behalf of the Movement at the 2007 meeting (S/PV.5663 (Resumption 1)); and in a letter dated 14 July addressed to the President from the Permanent Representative of Egypt in his capacity as current Chair of the Coordinating Board of the NAM

(S/2011/427), as well as my statement today on behalf of the Movement.

The Movement also takes note of the concerns expressed in the letter dated 1 July from the Permanent Representative of Nauru in her capacity as Chair of the group of Pacific Small Island Developing States (SIDS), addressed to the Member States of the United Nations, and expresses its appreciation for the presence of His Excellency President Stephen of the Republic of Nauru, and for his statement on this issue on behalf of the Pacific SIDS.

General Assembly resolution 63/281 on climate change and its possible security implications recognizes the respective responsibilities of the principal organs of the United Nations, including the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security conferred on the Security Council, and the responsibility for sustainable development issues, including climate change, conferred on the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. The final document of the Sixteenth Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement, held in Bali from 23 to 27 May, and General Assembly resolution 63/281 both stress that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is the key instrument and central multilateral framework for addressing all aspects of climate change, and the primary forum for considering the risks associated with and the actions needed to address climate change, in accordance with the principles enshrined in the Convention.

In this context, the Security Council's continued encroachment on the functions and powers of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the relevant subsidiary organs, by addressing issues that traditionally fall within the competence of those organs, remains a source of deep concern for the Movement. The Non-Aligned Movement stresses that the Security Council must fully observe all provisions of the Charter establishing the delicate balance among the competencies of all principal organs. The Movement also stresses that close cooperation and coordination among the principal organs is indispensable to enabling the United Nations to remain effective and capable of meeting existing, new and emerging threats and challenges.

The Movement also stresses that climate change and its adverse impacts must be addressed from the perspective of sustainable development, promoting a comprehensive approach to addressing the root causes of the problem. This can happen only in the relevant frameworks, which are the UNFCCC, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Sustainable Development. Those bodies are the most competent to address climate change and its related issues in a substantive way through due and harmonious cooperation in dealing with situations arising from the consequences of climate change.

The Movement is fully aware of the severity and urgency of the issue of climate change and its adverse impacts, and acknowledges the challenges faced by developing countries — including but not limited to least developed countries, SIDS and Africa — and the enormous pressure those impacts put on developing countries' national capacities and institutions.

The Movement stresses the importance of fulfilling the international commitments undertaken according to the UNFCCC and its Kyoto Protocol. Action must be taken by all, in accordance with the principles of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capacities. Developed countries have a historical and particular responsibility to reduce emissions and support developing countries' actions to adapt to and mitigate climate change by providing new, additional and predictable financing, as well as technology transfer and capacity-building.

The Non-Aligned Movement therefore emphasizes that the Council's decision to hold this debate should not be considered a precedent, and that this debate should not result in any form of outcome that undermines the authority or mandate of the relevant bodies, processes and instruments of wider membership that already address climate change.

The President: I give the floor to the representative of Argentina.

Mr. Argüello (Argentina): I would like to thank the Secretary-General and Mr. Steiner for their statements. I also particularly welcome the presence here today of His Excellency the President of the Republic of Nauru, Mr. Marcus Stephen.

I have the honour to deliver this statement on behalf of the Group of 77 and China in the context of today's open debate, held in accordance with the letter dated 1 July from the Permanent Representative of

Germany to the Council (S/2011/408), on the subject of the impact of climate change on the maintenance of international peace and security. The Group of 77 and China wishes to reaffirm its position on this subject.

The Council's primary responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security, as set out in the Charter of the United Nations. Other issues, including those related to economic and social development, are assigned by the Charter to the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. The ever-increasing encroachment by the Security Council on the roles and responsibilities of other principal entities of the United Nations represents a distortion of the principles and purposes of the Charter, infringes on their authority and compromises the rights of the general membership of the United Nations.

The Group of 77 and China underlines how important it is that the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council work within their respective mandates, as set out in the Charter.

General Assembly resolution 63/281 recognized the respective responsibilities of the principal organs of the United Nations, including the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security conferred upon the Security Council and the responsibility for sustainable development issues, including climate change, conferred upon the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, and invited the relevant organs of the United Nations, as appropriate and within their respective mandates, to intensify their efforts in considering and addressing climate change, including its possible security implications. The relevant bodies in the field of sustainable development are the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the relevant subsidiary bodies, including the Commission on Sustainable Development and the United Nations Environment Programme.

The Group of 77 and China is of the view that it is vital for all Member States to promote sustainable development in accordance with the Rio Principles, in particular the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, and fully implement Agenda 21 and the outcomes of other relevant United Nations conferences in the economic, environmental and social fields, including the Millennium Declaration.

We further emphasize the critical role of the international community in the provision of adequate, predictable, new and additional financial resources, the transfer of technology and capacity-building to developing countries.

We maintain that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is the primary international intergovernmental forum for negotiating the global response to climate change. In that context, we would recall that an appropriate response to this challenge should address not only the consequences but also the roots of the problem. Let me emphasize that there is a strong case for emission reductions and mitigation actions on the part of developed countries so as to avert the adverse impacts of climate change.

In this context, we are extremely concerned that under current climate change negotiations, there has not yet been any clear indication on the part of the developed countries that they will adopt a second commitment period under the Kyoto Protocol. Moreover, current mitigation pledges from developed countries participating in the UNFCCC negotiations are not sufficient to reduce global greenhouse-gas emissions enough to hold the increase in global average temperature at a level that would accord with what is required by science. Developed countries must be more ambitious in this respect.

We reiterate the need to coordinate international efforts and mobilize partners to assist the observation networks through regional initiatives such as the South Pacific Sea Level and Climate Monitoring Project and the Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre. In this regard, we call on the relevant agencies and organs of the United Nations, including the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, to reinforce regional broadcasting systems to help island communities during a disaster and increase the effectiveness of observation in those regions. Any measures taken in this context must ensure that an integrated approach is adopted in responding to environmental emergencies.

The response to the impacts of climate change and disasters must include the strengthening of the Hyogo Framework for Action for disaster risk reduction, as well as an increase in assistance to developing countries and affected States, including by supporting efforts to enhance their national and

regional capacities for the implementation of plans and strategies for preparedness, rapid response, recovery and development.

The Group would like to underline the fact that developing countries continue to suffer from the adverse impacts of climate change and the increasing frequency and intensity of extreme weather events. Developing countries are the most vulnerable to climate change, and support for their efforts needs to be stepped up. In this regard, we call for the full and effective implementation of the commitments under the Barbados Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, the Mauritius Declaration and the Mauritius Strategy for the Further Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States.

We reiterate that sea-level rise continues to pose a significant risk to small island developing States and to their efforts to achieve sustainable development and that, for some, it represents the gravest of threats to their survival and viability.

The Group of 77 and China will continue to pursue the achievement of sustainable development and the eradication of poverty, which are our first and overriding priorities, as well as the fulfilment of the commitments made by developed countries in all relevant bodies.

We strongly reiterate our expectation that the initiative of the Council to hold this debate will not create a precedent that undermines the authority or mandate of the relevant bodies, processes and instruments that already address these issues in all their complexity.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of El Salvador.

Mr. García González (El Salvador) (*spoke in Spanish*): Mr. President, we welcome your initiative to convene this open debate of the Security Council on the impact of climate change on the maintenance of international peace and security.

The world is now facing one of the greatest challenges in its entire history. Climate change is directly affecting millions of people, all species and ecosystems in general. Various international forums and organizations have been warning us for many years about the impact of climate change on agriculture, livestock and fisheries, particularly in countries located in tropical and subtropical regions. This had had negative consequences for small-scale rural subsistence economies in marginalized areas of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

El Salvador and the other Central American countries, owing both to their geographical location and natural environment and to their poverty levels and social deficit, are among the regions that are most vulnerable to and threatened by climate change. Our country is experiencing heavy rainfall, storms, drought and extreme weather events, which are having a negative impact on public resources, the social and economic base of the country and its democratic governance.

Just as serious is the situation of small island developing States (SIDS), which are suffering as a result of the direct impacts of climate change. They are affected mainly by problems that include coastal flooding, the disappearance of some islands into the sea, a reduction in freshwater resources, severe drought, crop losses and an increased incidence of disease, as well as threats to fish stocks, which represent the main food source for many communities in those States. All of the foregoing was stated by His Excellency Mr. Marcus Stephen, President of the Republic of Nauru, speaking on behalf of the SIDS. My country aligns itself fully with his statement.

In the face of such a situation, a greater commitment is necessary on the part of developed countries so as to make progress on negotiations to adopt a second commitment period under the Kyoto Protocol and hence to achieve its objective of reducing greenhouse gases.

Developing countries are the most affected by the adverse effects of climate change, and they are the least responsible for creating this problem. One example of this, according to scientific studies, is the estimate that by 2030, Central America will produce less than 0.5 per cent of greenhouse gases; however, it is already one of the regions that is most vulnerable to the effects of this phenomenon.

Here we should recall the commitment made by the developed countries to provide technical and financial assistance to developing countries to enable them to fulfil their commitments in terms of adaptation to climate change and with respect to the adoption of low-carbon development models.

One of the principles of international law is that no State can exercise its rights if doing so harms another State. International environmental law establishes limits on sovereignty in the sense that no State can use its territory in such a way that causes serious environmental damage to other States. The Framework Convention on Climate Change goes beyond this principle, declaring the change in the Earth's climate a common concern of humanity.

In this context, we welcome the appeal made by the Chair of the Group of 77 and China, Ambassador Argüello of Argentina, for the main bodies of the United Nations, within their mandates as accorded by the Charter of the United Nations, to devote greater efforts to addressing the impact of climate change and its security implications.

In this case, there is a crucial need for the Security Council to clearly recognize the threat that climate change poses for international peace and security and thus be able to respond with appropriate actions to the impacts of this phenomenon in this specific area. Climate change conditions and reduces economic growth and social progress, multiplies and magnifies territorial vulnerability and exacerbates environmental degradation, and thus constitutes a human security problem.

El Salvador is participating in various projects and initiatives at the regional level aimed at reducing vulnerability and adapting to climate change. The Regional Climate Change Strategy is a reflection of the common objective and the position of the Central American countries to tackle head on the challenge posed by climate change and its impact on the population of the region. We appreciate the initiative of the Security Council to debate this important topic, which will require a great deal of political will in multilateral negotiations for positive results to be seen in the medium and long terms.

The President: I now give the floor to Mr. Pedro Serrano, Acting Head of Delegation the European Union to the United Nations.

Mr. Serrano (European Union): I thank you, Sir, for giving me to floor to speak on behalf of the European Union (EU) and its member States and for organizing this important debate.

The candidate countries Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Montenegro; the countries of the Stabilisation and Association Process and potential candidates Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia; as well as Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova, align themselves with this statement.

At the outset, I wish to welcome the participation in this meeting of the President of the Republic of Nauru and to thank him for his important statement. I also thank the Secretary-General and the representative of the United Nations Environment Programme for their presentations.

The European Union and its member States believe that climate change has important security implications, since it acts as a threat multiplier. The scarcity of natural resources, economic damage, sea-level rise, desertification, migratory pressures and energy supply tensions may increase instability in fragile States and pressures on international governance. The European Union and its member States are examining these issues jointly with the United Nations, notably through the United Nations Interagency Framework Team for Preventive Action.

I would like to focus on two issues for our debate today: sea-level rise and food security.

The European Union fully shares the view that small island developing States are among the world's countries hardest hit by climate change. In particular, Pacific islands face unique structural constraints due to the combination of their remoteness, small size, limited natural resources and vulnerability to natural hazards. Adaptation to climate impact is indeed vital for the future of Pacific islanders, but the Pacific Ocean also represents a vital resource for the future of our planet.

In the Pacific area, the European Union has a longstanding development partnership, with 15 countries and 4 overseas countries and territories associated with the European Union. Climate-targeted activities have been addressed through a comprehensive mix of EU policies and instruments. We are currently reflecting on how to further enhance the EU-Pacific development partnership.

Long before any island might be submerged, progressive deterioration may render some islands uninhabitable. We should reflect on a common strategy for the region while considering actions tailored to meet specific needs. Coordination between international

donors and regional bodies will be crucial to ensure efficient implementation.

Increasing global temperatures will multiply extreme weather events such as drought, flooding and tropical cyclones, and their effects will become more intense and destructive. Coastal areas, where urban centres, economic activity, population and critical infrastructure are often located, are particularly vulnerable.

While moving forward towards a global agreement under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, meaningful measures can already be taken. Support to the poorest and most vulnerable countries should come first. Disaster preparedness should be enhanced, as the economic impact of natural disasters significantly curtails sustainable development and thus increases instability and can lead to conflict. Close links between countries' national adaptation plans and their disaster preparedness plans are necessary, and investment in technology and innovation should be promoted.

I move next to food security. Ensuring food security for the world's growing population is one of the major challenges we must address as a global community. The impact of food insecurity is both local and global. It results in the erosion of individual and family livelihoods, breaks up communities and causes malnutrition. It undermines children's and nations' abilities to reach their full potential.

Climate change stands at the centre of a confluence of pressures that will have an impact on food security over the coming decades. It is already having a dramatic impact on crop yields, livestock production and the availability of water. These trends are predicted to worsen in the future and make it ever more unlikely that we will achieve the increase in food production needed to feed the world's growing population.

The cost of not addressing climate change is further instability of food supplies, increased volatility of food prices, additional pressure on water resources and greater migratory pressures — all of which threaten the political stability of already fragile States and risk undermining progress towards the Millennium Development Goals.

The European Union and its member States actively support food security through development and humanitarian policies. In March 2010, we adopted a policy framework aimed at strengthening coordination between the EU and its member States in the fight against world hunger and malnutrition. Ensuring that all food security assistance is based on environmentally sustainable practices is a crucial step to achieve success.

As it is clear that the effects of climate change will hit the most vulnerable the hardest, particular attention should be devoted to the empowerment of people and communities facing poverty and hunger with limited resilience, as well as of countries and regions exposed to multiple stress factors and fragile States characterized by weak institutions and vulnerability to conflict.

Work on security implications must proceed in tandem with action to address climate change itself. The EU will continue to do so in the context of its policies for global climate action, development, humanitarian aid, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict reconstruction.

Just two days ago, on 18 July, the EU Foreign Affairs Council recognized the need to act to reduce systemic risks resulting from climate change before they trigger systemic crises. The Council also noted that climate change and environmental deterioration should be monitored by EU early-warning mechanisms, particularly in vulnerable regions, and called for the work undertaken on climate change and international security to be built upon.

Climate-induced risks are numerous and straddle development and security. Much more analysis remains to be done. We could suggest two issues that merit deeper research: water security and deforestation. Access to water and water availability may be both a great human security threat and a threat to regional stability, which may lead to serious disputes. Forests are a major source of food and subsistence for those who live in forest areas and their surroundings and are an essential means to combat climate change. Unsustainable deforestation may lead not only to displacement of population and environmental degradation, but also to damage to indigenous civilizations and their cultural and spiritual heritage.

In closing, I would like to underscore that the EU remains committed to broadening its understanding and mainstreaming climate change and its security implications in its foreign and security policies.

The President: There are still a number of speakers remaining on my list for this meeting. I therefore intend, with the concurrence of the members of the Council, to suspend the meeting until 3 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.6587 (Resumption 1)

Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

Provisional

6587th meeting

Wednesday, 20 July 2011, 3 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Wittig	(Germany)
Members:	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Ms. Hodžić
	Brazil	Mr. Vargas
	China	Ms. Li Xinyan
	Colombia	Mr. Osorio
	France	Ms. Guilloteau
	Gabon	Mr. Mandoukou Ombegue
	India	Mr. Kumar
	Lebanon	Mr. Jaber
	Nigeria	Mrs. Aguwa
	Portugal	Mr. Madureira
	Russian Federation	Mr. Maksimychev
	South Africa	Mr. Ngculu
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Davison
	United States of America	Mr. Cenzer

Agenda

Maintenance of international peace and security

Impact of climate change

Letter dated 1 July 2011 from the Permanent Representative of Germany to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2011/408)

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11-42397 (E)

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The meeting resumed at 3.10 p.m.

The President: I once again wish to remind all speakers to limit their statements to no more than four minutes in order to enable the Council to carry out its work expeditiously.

I now give the floor to the representative of Slovenia.

Ms. Štiglic (Slovenia): Allow me first to thank Germany for organizing this important open debate. I also wish to thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme for their remarks on this serious and timely topic.

Slovenia also welcomes the participation of the President of the Republic of Nauru, as well as his contribution to today's debate. We clearly understand the gravity of the situation and the challenges faced by small island developing States, particularly those of the Pacific, whose characteristics make them among the most vulnerable countries in the world to climate change.

I would like to align Slovenia with the statement made earlier by the observer of the European Union (EU).

Climate change is not a distant threat. Its impacts are real and are already felt by many nations. In many cases, it jeopardizes their very existence. While climate change is a global phenomenon, its negative impacts are disproportionate. Some parts of the world will be more affected than others. Furthermore, climate vulnerability depends not only on exposure to climate risks, but also on adaptation capacities to reduce those risks. Consequently, many of the developing countries will be the hardest hit by climate change.

Climate change has detrimental effects on human security and well-being, it endangers economic development and efforts to eliminate poverty and has a negative impact on international peace and security. Rising sea levels and coastal erosion will result in the loss of territory, and in some cases even statehood. Rising temperatures and extended droughts will increase desertification and land degradation, making vast areas of our planet uninhabitable. According to one empirical study, there could be 350 million environmental migrants by 2050 as result of those phenomena. Climate change also has a significant impact on food security, which is at the same time inextricably linked with water security.

With the onset of climate change and the increasing number of natural disasters, the link between the environment and security is hard to dispute. Already in 1987, the Brundtland report (A/42/427, annex), which coined the term sustainable development, also highlighted environmental degradation as a key factor in creating insecurity. The report also recognized that environmental stress was seldom the only cause of major conflicts but played an important part in causality associated with any conflict. Today, we generally regard climate change as a threat multiplier, a root cause or an underlying cause of instability and vulnerability. Careful consideration of those implications can help strengthen conflict prevention.

Slovenia is aware that climate change is the ultimate global challenge that calls for global responsibility. Although climate change is already a reality, with collective effort there is still time to secure our future.

The European Union and its member States are at the forefront of the debates on the issue of climate change. This has led to the presentation of a joint paper by the High Representative and the European Commission on Climate Change and International Security in March 2008, during the Slovenian presidency of the EU. The document remains a reference and guidance for EU action.

Slovenia believes that our success in addressing the climate change challenge depends foremost on our ability to achieve an ambitious post-2012 climate agreement and to limit global warming to below 2° C. Furthermore, building climate resilience is a priority for the most vulnerable countries and regions, which bear little historical responsibility for climate change. Negotiations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change should deliver a new climate deal that will reduce emissions and provide adequate financing and technology transfer for adaptation actions in developing countries.

However, neither adaptation nor mitigation alone can avert all climate change impacts. Close cooperation is needed among the relevant organs of the United Nations to intensify efforts in addressing the issue of climate change and its possible security implications. We need to use all our knowledge and

resources to find proper solutions. We see today's Council debate as an important contribution to that end.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Denmark.

Mr. Staur (Denmark): First of all, I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this important debate. I would also like to express my appreciation for the statements this morning by the Secretary-General and by the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme.

I would like to align myself with the statement made by the observer of the European Union (EU) just before lunch.

Denmark sees today's discussion as a very welcome opportunity to consider how to further support the efforts of the Security Council in relation to its responsibilities to maintain international peace and security in the context of climate change, and to make this issue an integral part of the work of the United Nations.

The Secretary-General's report (A/64/350) explains how climate change can have an aggravating effect on political tensions. The security implications caused by climate change cannot be ignored. Climate-related resource shortages, such as of water and fertile land, are well recognized and powerful drivers of conflict in many places around the world. In some places, climate change may even threaten to undermine Governments' ability to ensure stability and security for their own people.

To find a sustainable solution to this global threat, it is necessary to follow a multi-pronged strategy that incorporates climate and security in the work of all United Nations agencies and relevant international, regional and national institutions. As developing countries are the most vulnerable to climate change, this issue must also be an integral part of the international development cooperation. That includes capacity-building to deal with security threats and political tension caused by climate change. It also includes immediate activities to adapt to climate change, as well as improved disaster preparedness and warning systems. Mitigation actions must be started without delay, including further development of renewable energy sources and strategies on greening economic development.

Allow me here to also echo the words of the Secretary-General this morning that we must seize the opportunity at the Rio Conference next June to connect the dots of energy security, food security, the environment and climate change. We fully agree.

The efforts to promote global climate diplomacy must also be further strengthened. All aspects of climate change must be addressed through a dialogue that can promote a coherent understanding of this issue and a common vision of its solution. In that context, we very much welcome the recent EU Foreign Affairs Council conclusions to strengthen the EU's climate diplomacy.

It is an important prerequisite in our efforts to be efficient that we have access to relevant information on developments related to climate change and the security implications thereof. Denmark can therefore lend its support to inviting the Secretary-General to regularly report on these issues.

Most important, we must ensure a joint response from the international community to the global challenge of climate change, to secure international peace and security. It is a challenge we all face and that we can only overcome together. It is our hope that the debate today will be an important step forward in that process.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Luxembourg.

Ms. Lucas (Luxembourg) (*spoke in French*): Luxembourg fully associates itself with the statement delivered earlier on behalf of the European Union.

Allow me to congratulate you, Mr. President, for having taken the initiative to convene this open debate.

Climate change is a challenge of global proportions and it can be addressed only at that level. It requires appropriate and effective international action. The response to climate change must therefore include all the relevant United Nations bodies, including the Security Council, working in accordance with their respective mandates.

The negative effects of climate change have clear implications for the security and development of many States, in particular small island developing States. As noted by the Secretary-General in his report (A/64/350) issued following the General Assembly's adoption of resolution 63/281, on the possible security implications

of climate change, it is important that we see climate change as a threat multiplier. Climate change not only exacerbates the threats of persistent poverty, weak institutions for resource management and conflict resolution, fault lines and histories of mistrust between communities and nations, but also gives rise to such new threats as loss of territory leading to the displacement of populations and statelessness, and competition for shared or undemarcated international resources, such as water.

Our understanding of climate change has become considerably deeper since the issue was first brought before the Council in April 2007 (see S/PV.5663). Today, we are even better able to gauge the urgency of the situation. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has clearly indicated the need to act without delay on various fronts.

Efforts must therefore be sustained in the context of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in order to achieve a legally binding international agreement. The impact of climate change on the well-being of populations will indeed depend primarily on the measures taken by the international community to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and to decelerate these changes.

As early as 2005, the Security Council stressed the need to adopt a comprehensive conflict prevention strategy addressing globally the underlying causes of armed conflict and political and social crises. By this logic, it is critical that the security implications of climate change be factored into the Council's reflections and mandates, and, in an enhanced and comprehensive manner, into the activities of the United Nations system as a whole and of regional and international organizations.

There is no doubt that a vast spectrum of such interdependent factors as ethnic tension, cross-border disputes, deepening inequalities within societies and failed States can contribute to armed conflict. However, climate change, with its potentially tragic consequences for security — such as the displacement and transfer of populations, the former of which we have already witnessed — will become an increasingly critical factor in the underlying causes of conflict as the climate continues to change at an ever-faster pace.

Climate change is not fair. It impacts primarily the most vulnerable, who are the least responsible for its causes but have to cope with its effects on a daily basis. That is why Luxembourg's development cooperation began several years ago to systematically mainstream the issues of climate change mitigation and adaptation into its development programmes. It also provides fast-start financing to combat climate change. These contributions are new and complementary to our official development assistance, which reached 1.09 per cent of our gross national income in 2010.

We also view these contributions in the context of conflict prevention as measures to ensure sustainable development, since, as the Secretary-General has indicated in his reports, climate change can endanger countries' stability by slowing economic growth, aggravating poverty and despair, and exacerbating the vulnerability of populations.

The President: I give the floor to the representative of Costa Rica.

Mr. Ulibarri (Costa Rica) (*spoke in Spanish*): Costa Rica thanks you, Sir, for convening this open debate, highlighting the importance of climate change as a critical item on the multilateral agenda. We particularly welcome the participation of the Secretary-General and the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme.

Costa Rica associates itself with the statement made by the representative of Argentina on behalf of the Group of 77 and China, to the effect that the primary responsibility for addressing these matters comprehensively falls to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. All complementary efforts to address this issue on the part of any other organ of the Organization should take that, and in particular the following factors, into account. First, such efforts should seek to support work plans and goals in the context of the multilateral negotiating framework. Secondly, they should be based on the specific responsibilities of the respective body — in this case, the Security Council.

In addressing the problems of climate change through more than merely peripheral actions, we need to achieve an agreement that, in accordance with scientific evidence, will allow us to stabilize and reduce concentrations greenhouse gases to the levels established in the Convention. We can do so specifically through the firm and committed participation of the countries that are the principal greenhouse gas emitters, all of which are represented at

this table and therefore have an ongoing and, in many instances, historic responsibility.

Although that responsibility is not limited to the industrialized countries referred to in annex I of the Convention, they should nevertheless assume leadership, which should also be embraced by the major emerging economies. The permanent members of the Security Council — all major emitters and, with their right of veto, endowed with exceptional powers within this organ — should in particular make a clear political commitment to reducing greenhouse gases. That would be the best and largest contribution they could make to ensuring that climate change does not become an even greater threat to international peace and security. That group should then be expanded to include the other members of the international community commensurate with their emissions and economic capacities.

Pursuant to its competences under the United Nations Charter, the Security Council should focus on efforts to prevent or control conflicts or traumas that may arise as a result of the effects of climate change and that may undermine peace and security. These could include, inter alia, struggles for scarce water resources, forced population displacements or the threat of national disappearance. The most substantial and decisive actions, however, are outside the Council's mandate, and we reiterate that they should be addressed in accordance with the provisions of the Convention. We should also consider the competences of other entities of the United Nations system, such as the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council — particularly in the framework of the Commission on Sustainable Development — and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Costa Rica believes that, in addition to the commitments made with respect to emission reduction, prevention and mitigation, we should strengthen adaptation to climate change. Such measures would have a tangible effect on such factors as sea-level rise, flooding, droughts and food insecurity. In order to make a significant contribution to these tasks, the major economies must step up their financial flows towards countries that are affected or could potentially be affected by the problem, concentrating in particular on small island States, many of which face the imminent danger of disappearing as nations, as noted by President Stephen of Nauru on behalf of the Pacific small island developing States.

In my part of the world in Central America, the catastrophic effects of climate change are becoming ever-more frequent. Similarly, developing countries require direct investments to strengthen our climate monitoring and early warning systems. We also need the transfer of technologies that will, inter alia, improve the production of basic foodstuffs and help us to generate clean energy. In return, developing countries must act transparently and with accountability, good governance, respect for the rule of law, and set adequate priorities in the use of our resources. Costa Rica recognizes that we, too, must share the responsibility.

In conclusion, the climate change agenda is a broad network of interconnected nodes. That is why the most effective responses to the concerns raised at this debate are to be found within the framework of the Convention. We will make little headway against the concrete effects of climate change if we fail to establish the requisite conditions and to take the effective political decisions to allow the Convention fully to achieve its objectives.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of New Zealand.

Mr. Simpson (New Zealand): I thank your delegation, Mr. President, for acknowledging the singular importance of this issue by calling this timely debate. Allow me first to comment on some of the disagreements aired in the lead-up to today's debate.

New Zealand understands the concerns expressed regarding this Council taking up issues beyond the role and mandate accorded to it by the Charter. However, for those low-lying small island States, including several in my own region, the Pacific, for which climate change poses the ultimate security risk — that of ceasing to exist as States and as communities — debates about whether this constitutes a legitimate topic for discussion cannot but seem rather abstract and deeply divorced from the severity and urgency of the challenges they face.

The potential security implications of climate change have been well documented. They centre on the significant challenges faced by many communities in managing and maintaining access to basic resources — land, food, shelter, water — in the face of sustained

climatic change. The Asia-Pacific region has also faced a devastating series of natural disasters in the past few years — events that are predicted to become even more frequent and severe in the decades ahead. Such forecasts are worrying for small island developing States, which tend to be particularly vulnerable to such events due to their size, geographic isolation and relatively weak economic base. If not addressed, these challenges could well contribute to increased instability and conflict.

For some low-lying island States, climate change poses a more fundamental threat, potentially undermining their very viability and continued existence, and raising the very real prospect that we will witness forced migrations of an unprecedented nature and scale. Put simply, whole populations could be on the move, and by any measure that is a security threat.

Several steps must be taken to prevent and address the security impacts of climate change. First, we must build the adaptive capacities of developing countries so that they can better cope with future climate-related events before they become security challenges. Resilience to climate change requires more than building capacity to cope with physical impacts. It must also address existing and future resource use to reduce pressures on resources and build in necessary buffers for when things go wrong.

Secondly, and of equal importance, we must manage the scale of these security impacts through reductions in greenhouse gas emissions. Addressing the symptoms alone will be insufficient unless we also address the cause. New Zealand is committed, through negotiations in the context of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, to achieving comprehensive and effective global mitigation action and implementing effective adaptation measures. To make meaningful progress towards those goals, this year's Durban meeting must take the important step of implementing the Cancún agreements.

It is also important that adaptation and mitigation measures be effectively integrated into development activities, including peacekeeping and peacebuilding initiatives. New Zealand is currently working on adaptation and development projects through a number of bilateral, regional and multilateral initiatives. Our climate change adaptation assistance in the Pacific places a strong emphasis on climate-proofing new infrastructure, for example in the context of post-cyclone reconstruction.

Sharing best practices and research can also make a significant contribution towards effective, practical measures to address the security impacts of climate change. New Zealand's initiative, supported by many other countries, to establish the Global Research Alliance on Agricultural Greenhouse Gases aims to ensure that efforts to reduce agricultural emissions do not compromise the food security of a growing global population. No country will put its population at risk by reducing its agricultural production, so we need to find other ways of reducing associated emissions.

Issues of climate change and security must also be dealt with in an integrated manner across the breadth of United Nations agencies. We therefore support the call by Pacific small island developing States for consideration of mechanisms to support early identification of climate change-related security challenges and to promote comprehensive and cohesive research, analysis and action to address their causes.

Many countries hold serious concerns about the security implications of climate change for them and for their neighbours. But we know from past experience that such challenges can be addressed before they reach crisis point, and that conflict need not be inevitable. Many of the actions required for achieving this lie outside the competence and mandate of this Council, but understanding climate change as a driver of instability and potentially of conflict is nevertheless important to achieving a more secure future.

I hope that today's discussions have taken us a step closer towards achieving that shared understanding, and I hope that today the Council will send a clear and unequivocal message that it, too, is willing to play its part in meeting this challenge. Anything less will be a deep disappointment to the people of small, low-lying island States such as our friends and neighbours in the Pacific.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of the Republic of Korea.

Mr. Kim Sook (Republic of Korea): At the outset, I would like to thank Germany, in its capacity as President of the Council, for its very timely and well-prepared initiative to hold an open debate on the

impact of climate change on the maintenance of international peace and security. I also appreciate your delegation's concept paper (S/2011/408, annex), which concisely shows the potential implications of climate change on international peace and security.

Today's debate offers a meaningful opportunity for the Security Council to discuss the link between security and climate change, and my delegation would like to take this opportunity to note the Council's fruitful open debate on the interdependence between security and development held in February (see S/PV.6479). In this connection, today's climate debate may be able to marshal compelling arguments to encourage world leaders to take responsibility for reducing carbon emissions and to invest in adaptation with a view towards guarding against future insecurity.

We are aware of the imminent threats that climate change poses to the international community, as are many scholars and Government officials. In May, an international conference, "Threatened Island Nations: Legal Implications of Rising Seas and a Changing Climate", was sponsored by Columbia Law School and the Republic of the Marshall Islands. A number of policymakers and scholars shared common understandings of the gravity of the current trend. There have been many expert reports on climate change and the security issue as well. A recent report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) predicted that, due to the expected sea-level rise, many of the small island States will disappear by the year 2040. In addition, the IPCC estimates that between 350 and 600 million people in Africa will be at risk of increased water stress by the middle of the century, and that yields from rain-fed agriculture could be slashed by up to 50 per cent by 2020. Therefore, climate change could become a threat multiplier that makes existing problems even more complicated and intractable in terms of regional and global security.

In view of this, our delegation would like to address three points. First, global challenges require global responses. Given the global nature of climate change, such responses call for the widest possible cooperation by all countries and their participation in an effective and appropriate international response.

Second, considering the respective responsibilities of the principal organs of the United Nations and the role of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) as the key instrument for addressing climate change, the relevant organs of the United Nations, as appropriate and within their respective mandates, should intensify their efforts in considering and addressing climate change, including its possible security implications.

Finally, given its global dimension and interconnection with other global issues, such as poverty, underdevelopment and the food and energy crises, climate change should ultimately be addressed in the broader context of sustainable development. We share the high expectations of the international community for the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, to be held in 2012. We are ready to join international efforts to ensure its overarching success.

The Republic of Korea strongly supports the efforts of the international community to address climate change in the context of sustainable development. As a country that has embraced green growth as a national strategy, the Republic of Korea has offered, in particular, to host the eighteenth Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC in 2012. We believe that our efforts can provide a unique opportunity to highlight how green growth and a green economy can not only help to mitigate and adapt to the challenges of climate change, but also facilitate the attainment of sustainable development. In that connection, the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Cancún last year made considerable progress in the areas of climate finance, adaptation and technology, resulting in the so-called Cancún Agreement. We hope that this momentum can be maintained in Durban this year.

I hope that today's debate will jump-start our search for wise and insightful solutions to this far-reaching problem, while simultaneously leading to meaningful progress towards a breakthrough in future climate change negotiations.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Chile.

Mr. Errázuriz (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me to express my thanks for and to commend the report presented by the Secretary-General (A/64/350), as well as the very interesting and comprehensive presentation of Mr. Steiner.

My country has strong ties of friendship with the Pacific island States, which can be seen in our close

multilateral cooperation on issues including the law of the sea and the conservation and preservation of the marine environment, to which the Pacific small island States have made an undeniable contribution. I would like to warmly welcome the participation of the President of Nauru, His Excellency Mr. Marcus Stephen, and to thank him for his eloquent statement this morning.

As a coastal Pacific State, Chile shares the concern of the Pacific island States. It understands and supports their interest in resorting to the relevant bodies of the multilateral system to address current difficulties, given the danger they face from sea-level rise threatening their territory and the well-being of their citizens.

The General Assembly addressed the issue of climate change and its possible security implications through its resolution 63/281 of 2009. The report of the Secretary-General prepared pursuant to that resolution acknowledged that climate change can be a "threat multiplier", in particular in situations of extreme poverty.

Thus, on the Antarctic peninsula, for example, the Larsen ice shelf has been breaking up over the past two decades, while large ice masses have broken off from the western Antarctic. Such phenomena are undeniable and serve to illustrate the threat to low-lying coastal States, in particular small island States. To those are added the issues of the possible displacement of populations or increased political tension.

The debate on the possible security implications of climate change certainly cannot undermine the authority or mandates of relevant bodies, processes and instruments in addressing such an important issue. It should not deflect but strengthen the efforts of the international community in the areas of mitigation, adaptation and economic, social and environmental development, and should promote greater impetus in that regard. International cooperation, the exchange of relevant information and increased support for scientific research are essential to the pursuit of basic solutions to this serious issue, which also includes other extremely serious phenomena, such as increasing desertification, among others, that affect various areas of our planet.

Chile believes that we should reaffirm the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change as the fundamental instrument for addressing climate change. We recall its provisions, including recognizing that the global nature of climate change requires the broadest possible cooperation of all countries and their participation in an effective international response, in accordance with their common but different responsibilities, respective capacities and social and economic conditions.

In that regard, we believe it essential to move towards establishing a broad and legally binding agreement on climate change. At the same time, our country believes that agreement in the negotiations on the Kyoto Protocol must be reached as soon as possible in order to avoid a gap between the first and the second commitment periods under that instrument.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Kyrgyzstan.

Mr. Kydyrov (Kyrgyzstan): Let me thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this open debate on climate change and its impact on international peace and security. Kyrgyzstan shares the view that global climate change is becoming one of the most serious challenges to humankind and thus requires an integrated approach by the United Nations and its main bodies and agencies. We hope that this debate will contribute to a deeper analysis of the problem of climate change and its impact on international peace and security, and that it will allow for a more clearly defined role of the Security Council in dealing with such challenges.

Given the record rise in global food prices from 2008 to 2010, and due to global climate change, food security in the least developed and developing countries is being seriously undermined. The situation is especially complicated for mountain countries such as Kyrgyzstan. It might eventually lead to food shortages and possible subsequent conflicts in the most vulnerable States. Therefore, we consider it important to implement General Assembly resolution 64/205 on sustainable mountain development in terms of ensuring food security for mountain countries.

The international community is aware that small island developing States are already experiencing the earliest ecological impacts of climate change in terms of sea-level rise. Climate change has actually become an issue of survival and security for them. We believe that the United Nations should consider measures to mobilize the necessary international support for

collective efforts to address the environmental problems of small island States.

The report of the Secretary-General on climate change and its possible security implications notes that

> "[w]idespread mass losses from glaciers and reductions in snow cover ... are projected to accelerate throughout the twenty-first century, reducing water availability and hydropower potential and changing seasonality of flows in regions supplied by melt-water from major mountain ranges" (*A/64/350, para. 34*).

That process has already affected the Central Asian region. For example, the supply of fresh water from the glaciers of Kyrgyzstan, estimated at 650 billion cubic metres, has rapidly decreased due to the reduction of the glacier surface area by 20 per cent over the past 30 years. In 20 years it may well decline by another 35 per cent. As a result, we may face a critical shortage of fresh water, along with negative consequences for peace and security.

According to the preliminary forecast of the second national communication of Kyrgyzstan to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, our glaciers may totally disappear by 2100. Such a situation requires not only the development of effective inter- and intra-State water use and allocation measures, but also the implementation of special projects on forest conservation, the prevention of natural hazards and the production of environmentally friendly renewable energy sources, including hydropower, which has no negative environmental impact.

The significant increase in natural disasters in many regions of the world, including Africa and some countries of Asia and Central Asia, is another indicator of the negative impact of global climate change. For instance, in the past 10 years the number of natural disasters in Kyrgyzstan has increased from 60 in 2000 to 420 in 2010. Experts estimate that disasters will continue to increase in terms of both quantity and destructive effects. This problem is of particular concern in view of the transboundary threat posed by uranium tailings located in Kyrgyzstan and in other Central Asian countries.

Kyrgyzstan believes that these problems must be taken into account in implementing conflict prevention, crisis management, peacebuilding and post-conflict stabilization measures. Kyrgyzstan considers it necessary to design regional systems to monitor, assess and respond to the negative effects of climate change in terms of peace and security while bearing in mind regional specificities. An important component of these actions must be the timely identification and appropriate inclusion of these matters before the corresponding organs and agencies of the United Nations system so that necessary steps may be taken. With respect to our region, we believe that the activity in this domain of the Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy for Central Asia, in cooperation with relevant United Nations agencies and organs, should be increased.

Special attention is needed on the effective implementation of country programmes and projects, particularly on those aimed at environmental protection or strengthening capacities of the most vulnerable countries to tackle emergency situations. In this regard, we hope that the role of the United Nations Development Programme in coordinating these issues and developing appropriate plans and strategies will be further enhanced.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that Kyrgyzstan is firmly committed to the international agreements on climate change, including the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol. In this regard, we support the adoption of all significant commitments to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases before 2012. We also consider it important to ensure the implementation of the Agreements reached in Cancún in 2010 related to assisting developing countries in formulating and implementing national adaptation plans.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Mexico.

Mrs. Morgan (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): Climate change is one of the major challenges facing the international community. It requires that specific action be taken by all countries, without exception and in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capacities. For these reasons and based on its effects so far, climate change is far from being a threat to international peace and security in the traditional sense. The available scientific information is solid and clearly shows the risks associated with not giving serious attention to this challenge. Mexico therefore appreciates the efforts of

the German presidency to draw attention to the risks associated with climate change. This debate will help to strengthen our conviction that we must make greater and more efficient efforts in order to achieve the ultimate goal of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) as soon as possible.

We must ensure that the commitments undertaken in Cancún eight months ago are implemented and work tirelessly to strengthen effective action in that context. The international legal framework must be strengthened and adapted to the magnitude of the task. The United Nations system remains the ideal forum to design solutions to the challenges facing the international community. But in order to make use of it we must get to work immediately and in good faith.

If we do not reduce our greenhouse gas emissions, we will begin to see the larger effects of climate change, such as limited agricultural production, irregular rainfall patterns, soil erosion, changes in disease transmission vectors and sea-level rise. These effects will be felt most strongly in developing countries, in particular the poorest and most vulnerable among them, who are also the ones that emit the least. Because of its nature, the effects of global climate warming will in the long term affect the governability and political, economic and social stability of countries, as well as their opportunities for development.

The challenge of climate change cannot be resolved in one fell swoop or with a single solution. It requires ongoing actions by all actors and sectors of society. It requires a portfolio of technological, political and economic options, as well as individual action. At the international level, it requires a strengthened framework where the situations of all countries could converge and be addressed. This is no easy task. Time has shown us that the climate change framework must develop gradually.

In Cancún, we achieved concrete results that represent an important step forward in our work. Mexico is implementing its commitments and adopting measures that will enable us to reduce emissions as much as possible based on our capacities in the short and medium term.

In Durban, we will need to breathe life into the institutions created in Cancún, and operationalize them to increase our collective ambition. We must also create certainty as to the future of the Kyoto Protocol, which is fundamental instrument to maintain a rules-based system to achieve our objectives. But it should also be complemented by another protocol that includes countries that currently do not have reduction commitments under the Kyoto Protocol.

My country hopes that this debate will help to strengthen actions within the competent forums and that it will maintain our attention on the relevant issue of the fight against climate change. We are aware of the fact that if our efforts do not succeed, it is probable, and it would be unfortunate, that in the future the adverse effects of climate change will have consequences for the maintenance of international peace and security and thus require action by the Security Council.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Ecuador.

Mr. Morejón (Ecuador) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, allow me, Mr. President, to acknowledge the presence in this important debate of the Secretary-General, the President of Nauru, my friend Mr. Achim Steiner and Ms. Juanita Castaño.

My delegation associates itself with the statement made by the representative of the Argentine Republic on behalf of the Group of 77 and China, as well as with the statement of the representative of Egypt in his capacity as Chair of the Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Ecuador would like to join the majority of countries in asserting that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change is the body mandated with steering issues stemming from climate change. We believe that the Kyoto Protocol should be respected and that the commitments made under Annex I should carried out. The General Assembly, as a universal democratic body, is the ideal forum for making recommendations to address climate change's repercussions at the global level. We are aware that climate change constitutes one of the major problems facing the international community. In that regard, my country has taken specific action to combat climate change and reduce emissions through a process that has been widely discussed at the United Nations; I am referring to the Yasuni-ITT initiative, with which many here are familiar.

Climate change will continue to have various effects on the planet's humans and ecosystems. Developing countries are of course vulnerable, which is why we need a cohesive response to the issue that includes technology transfer and the undertaking of appropriate financial commitments. In that regard, we stress the importance of fulfilling the Kyoto Protocol commitments according to the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, by which developed countries maintain their historical responsibility, in line with their ecological footprint, to reduce their emissions, and support developing countries through efforts aimed at adapting to and mitigating climate change. We also feel it is essential to seek political support for the second Kyoto Protocol commitment period. For these reasons, my delegation reiterates its belief in the need to work to achieve agreements based on the instruments we have. We encourage all countries to do likewise and to strengthen the agreements adopted under the Convention.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Cuba.

Mr. Benítez Versón (Cuba) (*spoke in Spanish*): Cuba firmly supports the statements made by the representative of Egypt on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement and by the representative of Argentina on behalf of the Group of 77 and China.

Climate change is undoubtedly one of the most serious and imminent dangers threatening the survival of humankind. Paradoxically, the States most affected and in the worst position to adapt to the negative consequences of climate change, in particular small island developing States and African countries, are the least responsible for the problem. On the contrary, developed countries' emissions account for 76 per cent of greenhouse gas emissions, which continue to grow. One billion people in the first world wastefully consume half the planet's energy while 2 billion poor people lack electricity. Thirty countries consume 80 per cent of the fuel that the world produces. Developed countries therefore bear the main responsibility for repaying the debt historically owed to our planet's ecosystem.

The relevant powers and functions of the various bodies within and without the United Nations must be duly respected. We are seriously concerned about the Security Council's growing interference in the functions and responsibilities of the other principal United Nations organs. Climate change is an issue that, by definition, should be discussed under the sustainable development cluster. In the United Nations, therefore, it should be addressed, as has been the case in recent years, by the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council and their relevant subsidiary bodies, in particular the Commission on Sustainable Development and the United Nations Environment Programme.

Cuba understands the legitimate concerns of some of the small island States, which have brought this issue to the attention of the Security Council. They are driven by a pressing need to find solutions to a problem that poses a serious threat to their security and physical integrity as territories and nations. If the Security Council, despite its limitations and lack of jurisdiction in this area, wishes to demonstrate any seriousness in reviewing this issue of universal concern and making a meaningful contribution to the search for solutions, it should begin by making a statement that includes the following basic points.

First, it should emphasize that the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities is the cornerstone of a just and lasting solution to global climate change.

Secondly, it should underline how important it is that developed countries meet their international development commitments, including those relating to the Millennium Development Goals, official development assistance, Agenda 21, the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation, the Barbados Programme of Action and the Mauritius Strategy, helping developing countries to take the actions needed to adapt to climate change.

Thirdly, it should call on industrialized countries to undertake a second commitment period under the Kyoto Protocol, with measurable and more ambitious goals for emissions reduction. In that regard, the Council should recognize that the emissions reduction goals being announced by some of the major developed countries go far beyond the range necessary to stabilize the rise in global temperature at a level that will prevent irreversible catastrophe.

Fourthly, the Council should emphasize that the goals for reducing greenhouse gas emissions by the countries of the South cannot be formulated in such a way as to obstruct their right to development, but should be done on the basis of voluntary, non-binding

mitigation actions, in accordance with the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

Fifthly, the Council should recognize that the main cause of global climate change is the unsustainable production and consumption patterns that prevail in developed countries.

Sixthly, the Council should press for concrete commitments on funding and technology transfer on preferential terms to developing countries, making small island States and least developed countries a priority, as well as allocate new and additional resources for implementing adaptation actions.

Allow me to conclude by emphasizing that climate change is a global threat that requires global solutions that are just, equitable and balanced. Only respect for the principles and commitments enshrined in the Framework Convention and the Kyoto Protocol can help us solve this problem. At the seventeenth Conference of the Parties, the world will have a new opportunity that must not be wasted. The way in which we deal with climate change today will have a direct impact on the development prospects of many countries and humankind's very survival.

Ms. Flores (Honduras) (*spoke in Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation joins previous speakers in acknowledging your dedication and commendable work in presiding over the Council. You and the rest of the Council members have our cooperation and commitment of support on the issue of climate change, which is being addressed in the Council today. We thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon; the President of Nauru, Mr. Marcus Stephen; and Mr. Richard Marles, Australia's Parliamentary Secretary for Pacific Island Affairs, for their statements today. We concur with delegations that have today affirmed that climate change is a threat that affects peace and security.

If the blows of nature in its cruelty can significantly affect countries with greater capacities for response reaction and relief in the face of such disasters, imagine how severe their impact is on the weakest and most vulnerable societies. How can we expect many of our meagre economies to achieve the Millennium Development Goals while they may be dealing with one of these tremendous setbacks, which can destroy achievements that took decades to attain?

As Mr. Achim Steiner, Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme, said today, I come from one of those nations battered by the fury of a deadly hurricane of biblical proportions. In a split second, the hurricane took away 50 years of determined effort and so many dreams, just when we thought we could finally see the light at the end of the tunnel. Thanks to international solidarity and the aid of providence, we marshalled the internal strength we needed to overcome this harsh test and move on, but not without having to retrace our steps along the same path. That required time, resources and efforts that could have gone into dealing with our setbacks in order so as not to exacerbate our underdevelopment. For these reasons, we believe that limiting this debate to issues related to the impact of rising sea levels, food security and risks of scarcity on international peace and security would be far too simplistic. Whenever nature rebels against humans, the ensuing destruction affects the natural equilibrium, provoking chain reactions, threatening fundamental aspects of our lives and destroying opportunities for future generations.

Even though no one can ever be fully prepared to face such a natural upheaval, a certain degree of preparedness, in the form of identifying and devising solutions to vulnerabilities, has proved helpful in mitigating the consequences and repairing the damage. In designing mitigation and international cooperation policies and programmes aimed at dealing with the impact of such phenomena, it is imperative to take account of the geographical, political, economic, cultural and religious differences between our national societies.

We in Honduras are working on a national climate change mitigation strategy aimed at elaborating public policies and community practices that will contribute to decreasing our vulnerabilities. We plan to increase national awareness of the fact that we will be able to move forward only by improving and safeguarding our natural riches, our water basins and water resources, and focusing on water preservation and the creation of sustainable agroforestry systems, through ecosystem preservation in both protected and unprotected areas of the country.

However, merely reciting a litany of needs does little good when the minimum resources required to significantly mitigate such weaknesses are non-existent, as many of those weaknesses are not related merely to the country's geographical position. It is unfortunate that we are located right in the path of hurricanes that cause destruction in the form of

landslides and floods; that we are close to dangerous geological faults that cause earthquakes and cataclysms; that our country is bathed by waters that could rise up as tsunamis; and that we are at the mercy of inclement climatic variations that hinder the sowing of and destroy our crops.

Our vulnerabilities are also related to our internal situation, our economic underdevelopment and the limited possibilities faced by a large percentage of the population in terms of finding a decent job and safe housing without being forced to relocate their families to high-risk areas that lack basic services. Our society's vulnerabilities are therefore multifaceted and, given our limited economic assets, addressing them would cost more than we can afford.

Please forgive me for digressing, but this is our reality — a reality that cannot be viewed only in the light of contingency-driven risks, without accepting the fact that it will always be burdened by the system's intrinsic shortfalls. It is a very different reality from other, more privileged ones — one that requires its own specific diagnosis and understanding so that we will not innocently and mistakenly adopt solutions that may be suitable for others but unsuitable for us.

In conclusion, I would like to share the following concept, taken from the most recent annual report of the United Nations Development Programme, entitled *People-centred Development: Empowered Lives, Resilient Nations*. Countries cannot on their own deal with climate change and the loss of biodiversity. This is without a doubt a shared responsibility that should be addressed in the context of the natural differences between countries and peoples. It is a responsibility centred on people, with a full understanding of the requirements involved and complemented by broad-based measures aimed at fulfilling their strong wish to overcome their adverse circumstances.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Ireland.

Ms. Webster (Ireland): In the interests of saving time, I propose to give an abbreviated statement; the full text will be circulated to delegations shortly.

Ireland aligns itself with the statement made earlier by the head of the European Union (EU) on behalf of its member States.

Our focus today reminds us of the importance of together adopting a holistic approach to tackling climate change. I will therefore focus my remarks on the security implications and the outlook of two areas driven by climate change. These give us ever-increasing cause for alarm: first, the seemingly inexorable rise in sea levels and, secondly, food insecurity. The latter is all the more germane today, the day on which the Secretary-General declared a famine in the Horn of Africa — the first such declaration in 30 years.

The security implications of the negative impact of climate change and its role as a threat multiplier are evident and have been referred to by many speakers. Consequences include forced migration, permanent resettlement, greater competition for ever more scarce resources, land degradation and food insecurity. As we know, these factors have repeatedly led to conflict and have served to exacerbate already difficult conditions, including in fragile States. This surely undermines peace and peacebuilding.

As observed by the Secretary-General, rising sea levels present the ultimate security threat to those Member States whose very existence is at stake. The dire projections are no less shocking with repetition: by 2050, 200 million people could be displaced by rising sea levels and drought.

A stark illustration of the grim and present reality of rising sea levels was brought home to us earlier this year in Dublin at a conference of women leaders on climate justice. Speakers from Papua New Guinea's Carteret Islands described the unprecedented high tides which rapidly covered their land, destroying its soil for food production and menacing the safety and security of the islanders. As a result, all 1,500 islanders were evacuated to Bougainville. So we find that statelessness and loss of territory, with their related security implications, have become a reality rather than a theoretical possibility.

The United Nations can foster a truly global response to such phenomena, one that is rooted in social justice and equality, one that demands strong political leadership from all countries, particularly the major emitters in the developed world. The European Union is leading the way in this by deciding to reduce its emissions by at least 20 per cent by 2020 compared to 1990 levels. We have also made a conditional offer to increase that target to 30 per cent, subject to commitments from other developed and developing countries.

Global warming has already hindered the fulfilment of the human rights of millions of the world's poor to life, security, food, health and shelter. Ireland strongly believes that we, the international community, need to work together to address the related needs of developing countries, especially the Pacific small island developing States and the least developed countries. We strongly echo the call made by Honduras for us all to work together in that regard. The most vulnerable will need help in reducing their susceptibility to future shocks. We are convinced that mitigation and adaptation are two sides of the same risk-management coin.

Climate change is now identified as a growing global challenge, and perhaps its greatest impact will be an increase in the scale and intensity of hunger and food insecurity. We are today witnessing harrowing scenes from Somalia and the rest of the Horn of Africa. Millions of people are at risk of starvation in some of the most hostile conditions imaginable. More than 78,000 Somalis have fled their country in the past two months — 61,000 last month alone. This is putting an enormous strain on neighbouring countries such as Ethiopia and Kenya, which have opened their borders to the influx of the displaced and starving.

But hunger stalks many lands; the grim reality is that almost a billion people are undernourished worldwide. The security implications of this climate change are more frequent and more extreme weather events, coupled with failing yields and escalating food prices, with incidents of social protests, unrest and riots inexorably increasing in several countries.

With these concerns in mind, Ireland's development programme supports efforts to increase the capacity of local communities to become more resilient to the vagaries of climate and environmental degradation. Our engagement involves a pledge to spend at least 20 per cent of our aid budget on hunger and related areas by 2012.

The concept note prepared by the Pacific small island States is clear and compelling. It proposes the case for the Security Council to clearly recognize the threat of climate change to international peace and security. In the meantime, however, Security Council work on climate change is already supported by existing instruments.

Ireland supports the case for a clear mandate for the Security Council to request the Secretary-General to report contextual information to the Council. This would be focused on drivers of conflict, and it is clear that climate change is undoubtedly one such key driver.

In the interests of brevity, I will conclude by adding that, last February, the Security Council encouraged Member States, particularly those actively involved in governance structures of the United Nations, to promote coherence in the United Nations work in conflict and post-conflict situations. This exhortation was echoed in the Secretary-General's report on climate change (A/64/350), where he called for strengthened efforts to mainstream climate change within United Nations activities. The one UN approach on this key challenge is clearly vital.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Japan.

Mr. Osuga (Japan): I would like to begin by thanking the German presidency for convening this important meeting. I would also like to express our appreciation to the German delegation for making their best efforts in drafting the concept note (S/2011/408) consistent with the mandate of the Security Council by taking into account the views expressed in the past in the Council and in the General Assembly.

For climate change negotiators, global warming is one of the most imminent threats facing humankind. However, the anticipated time span for tackling this issue is different from that for the threats of armed conflict, which the Security Council has dealt with traditionally. Today, most countries have no doubt that climate change threatens human security and, in the long term, would have indirect adverse effects on national security as well. On the other hand, we need to be careful in considering what role the Security Council could play in addressing the adverse impacts of global warming on international peace and security. Based on this recognition, I would like to share the views and actions of my Government in the area of climate change and its security implications.

Mr. Naoto Kan, Prime Minister of Japan, in his address during the general debate of the General Assemoly last September, emphasized that small island developing States are in peril of being submerged in future because of global warming. Saving these countries from their predicament is one of the reasons we should address the issue of climate change with a greater sense of urgency.

Receding coastlines caused by sea-level rise would affect territorial waters and borders in many countries with low-lying coastal areas, not limited to small island developing States, and thus could incite disputes between States. Furthermore, sea-level rise would aggravate the vulnerability of coastal areas to natural hazards, resulting in internally displaced persons, refugees and other unexpected population dynamics, which could raise the risk of conflict. Not only food security and a variety of natural disasters, but also the distribution of water resources and global health challenges would be affected by climate change. These issues would, in turn, weaken the resilience of communities, which might lead to conflict or hamper efforts to resolve existing disputes.

It should also be noted that the poorest countries and the poorest people and communities within a country are most vulnerable to the negative impact of climate change. Given that fact, my delegation underscores the importance of the nexus between climate change, development and security.

In order to address climate change, we need to establish a fair and effective international framework in which all major economies take part. At the same time, we should build upon, step by step, the agreements reached under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. At the seventeenth Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, we should try to reach a well-balanced agreement to operationalize the Cancún Agreements. Japan will engage in a constructive manner in the preparation process towards a successful Conference.

In this context, I would like to point out the fact that the emissions from the parties under obligation to the Kyoto Protocol amount to less than 30 per cent of the total emissions today. The extension of those obligations would not lead to the effective mitigation of emissions. With regard to setting the second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol, Japan's position remains unchanged.

At the fifteenth Conference of the Parties, in Copenhagen, Japan announced that it would provide assistance to developing countries in the amount of $15 billion up to 2012; and it had already implemented $9.7 billion as of March 2011. We have been promoting policy dialogue in cooperation with the countries most vulnerable to climate change, including African countries.

At the Pacific Islands Leaders Meeting interim ministerial meeting, which was held in Tokyo last October to follow up on the outcomes of the fifth Pacific Islands Leaders Meeting, participants confirmed the steady implementation of Japan's fast-start financing on climate change. My Government remains fully committed to providing assistance to Pacific island countries, as pledged at the fifth Meeting, in other areas as well, such as the environment and human security, including health and education.

With regard to African countries, the third Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) ministerial follow-up meeting was held in Senegal to follow up on the Yokohama Action Plan, adopted at the fourth TICAD meeting. At the meeting, participants agreed to commence preparations for a low-carbon growth and sustainable development strategy in Africa.

Finally, I would like to touch on disaster risk reduction. On 11 March, Japan was hit by an unprecedented earthquake. It should be noted that more devastating damage was caused by the tsunami than by the earthquake itself, which highlights the gravity of disasters to low-lying coastlines. In order to promote global cooperation for disaster risk reduction, we need to establish a new international strategy to succeed the Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015. To contribute to this endeavour, as announced at the third session of the Global Platform for Disaster Risk Reduction, held in Geneva last May, Japan is willing to hold a third world conference on disaster reduction. In preparation for that conference, Japan will organize a high-level conference on large-scale natural disasters in 2012. We very much appreciate the active support of Member States for our initiatives.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Singapore.

Mr. Menon (Singapore): My delegation commends Germany for the initiative to hold today's debate. It is timely and will hopefully complement the initiative by the United Kingdom in 2007. Then, Singapore was among the voices that argued for the link between the effects of climate change, in particular the obvious competition for scarce resources and the implications for international peace and security.

As I said in 2007,

> "Intuitively, there may be a nexus between environmental degradation from climate change and increased conflict over limited resources made even scarcer. Land, water, food and minerals have often been variables in that complex equation leading to conflict. ... People have been studying conflicts for centuries without arriving at a perfect formula for predicting them. But while we should recognize the complexity ..., we should not lose sight of the simple idea that people often fight over tangible things." (*S/PV.5663 (Resumption 1), p. 27*)

The link is now accepted and a consensus exists that only concerted efforts by all Member States, working with relevant non-State actors, can tackle the biggest challenge of this age.

Climate change is a global problem which requires sustainable global solutions in the context of a rules-based and inclusive multilateral framework. Without the buy-in from the different stakeholders, any response to climate change would be limited and ineffective. The United Nations therefore plays an important role in formulating a multilateral response to climate change that is global, multifaceted and yet coordinated and integrated. This is clearly not an easy task.

We must recognize that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is, and will remain, the primary forum for climate change negotiations. In that context, I support the statements delivered by the representative of Argentina on behalf of the Group of 77 and China and by the representative of Egypt on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement. The aim of the debate today is not to prejudge the ongoing negotiations in the UNFCCC.

Nevertheless, we do see the need for the UNFCCC to work closely with other United Nations agencies, funds and programmes, especially with regard to adaptation and capacity-building. Ultimately, the challenge posed by climate change is closely linked to the larger issue of sustainable development. In that regard, a key challenge for the United Nations system is to ensure coherence and coordination in the activities of agencies and programmes in the field of sustainable development. This is an area where the General Assembly and the Commission on Sustainable Development can make a useful contribution.

With this clear understanding that decision-making authority lies within the UNFCCC track, the Security Council can also make an important contribution to the climate change discussion in two ways. First, it can help to build greater awareness of the catastrophic long-term consequences of climate change, including the possible security consequences. Secondly, the Security Council can help to reinforce ongoing efforts to inject political momentum into the UNFCCC negotiating process for a successful outcome to be adopted at the seventeenth Conference of the Parties and the seventh Meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol, to be held in Durban, South Africa, later this year. In that regard, members of the Security Council, in particular the permanent members, must show leadership in the climate change negotiating process.

The successful outcome in Cancún last year has restored faith in the multilateral climate change negotiating process. The leadership played by Mexico was instrumental in achieving success in Cancún. We commend Mexico for its efforts. This year, we are pleased that South Africa is also showing leadership and initiative. However, the success of multilateral negotiations cannot be the sole responsibility of the country holding the presidency. It must be a collective effort.

It is clear that developed countries have a clear historical responsibility for addressing climate change. But it is equally clear that we cannot solve this problem without the participation of all countries, both developed and developing. We must also act with a sense of urgency, not only because we must respond to the call for action from our fellow Pacific small island developing States, but because we are custodians of the sustainability, security and quality of life of generations to come.

Let me conclude with a quote from Ralph Waldo Emerson, who once said that "What you do speaks so loudly that I cannot hear what you say". I hope the debate today will not become a substitute for action, but will be a prelude to action.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Iceland.

Ms. Gunnarsdóttir (Iceland): Climate change is one of the greatest challenges of our times. Indeed, the very existence of some Member States is in danger due to rising sea levels. In that regard, we recognize that

small island developing States are especially vulnerable. Others will face serious droughts and increased frequency of extreme weather conditions. These developments and others, which are well known to all of us, will have a significant environmental, social, economic and political impact.

The consequences of climate change can increase tension and potentially lead to conflict. It is therefore very timely and important for the Security Council to address the security implications of climate change. While the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change remains the primary forum for addressing climate change at the international level, the Council, in fulfilling its role in maintaining international peace and security, should recognize the threats posed by climate change and seek ways to address them and ensure the viability and sustainability of our societies.

Although everyone will be affected by climate change, it is important to remember that climate change magnifies existing inequalities. Women are especially vulnerable. Rural areas in developing States and emerging economies, as well as sectors and activities traditionally associated with women, are disproportionally affected by climate change. As a result, women face greater hardships with household activities and the daily struggle for survival. Fewer water resources also have a negative effect on health, sanitation and food security, which puts an additional burden on women. Due to their social roles and responsibilities, women are also more vulnerable to natural disasters than men.

The principles guiding the Security Council when it adopted its landmark resolution 1325 (2000), on women, peace and security, must also guide the Council's work when addressing the security implications of climate change. Women should be portrayed not only as victims of climate change, but also as fundamental actors in action against it. The Council must ensure that any response to climate change takes the gender perspective into account and that both women and men are included in the debate, decision-making and implementation with regard to all aspects of climate change. This will make the response to climate change more effective and appropriately contribute to greater gender equality worldwide.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Canada.

Mr. Rivard (Canada): Canada is pleased to participate in this debate. We thank Germany for initiating this dialogue and look forward to engaging further, as we have done in the past. We also thank the Pacific small island developing States for bringing forward this important issue. Canada strives to be an accountable, effective and reliable partner of small island developing States, including in those in the Pacific and the Caribbean and here at the United Nations. We have consistently supported effective responses by the Security Council to new and emerging security challenges.

Our support and sponsorship of the resolution on climate change and security, brought forward by our Pacific island partners, is a case in point. The resolution was an affirmation of our collective recognition of the possible security implications of climate change. The existential threat facing small island developing States and those confronting food insecurity gives this issue an urgent and human dimension.

Climate change has the potential to act as a stressor in failed and fragile States.

Canada continues to be engaged in the international negotiations aimed at developing a new, fair and effective international post-2012 climate change regime. We have joined our international partners in adopting the Cancún Agreements. These are a set of significant decisions that together represent a concrete step forward in establishing the type of global climate change regime necessary to achieve real environmental results. The Cancun Agreements acknowledge the global reality that all major emitters need to take action if we are to succeed in effectively addressing climate change.

Grave problems call for grave solutions. National environmental programmes must be sustained by international cooperation in a dynamic economy. As part of our commitment to support mitigation and adaptation efforts in developing countries, including least developed countries, small island developing States and Africa, Canada contributed $400 million in new and additional climate financing for the 2010-2011 fiscal year alone, as part of our fast-start climate change financing commitment. This is Canada's largest-ever contribution to support international efforts to address climate change, and focuses on supporting developing countries' efforts to reduce

greenhouse gas emissions and adapt to the adverse impacts of climate change in three priority areas, namely, adaptation, clean energy and forests and agriculture.

(*spoke in French*)

Today, there are approximately 1 billion hungry people in the world. Another billion are getting enough to eat but suffer from chronic malnutrition because they do not have access to sufficiently nutritious foods. The majority of these 2 billion people are women, children and small-scale farmers living in rural areas.

Canada has played a leadership role in supporting responses to food crises through its long-standing commitment to increasing food security. At the Group of Eight (G-8) summit in L'Aquila in 2009, we pledged to more than double our investment in sustainable agricultural development and to provide $600 million in increased funding over three years, reaching $1.18 billion in overall funding. Canada has met its total L'Aquila commitment, and we are proud to be the first G-8 country to do so.

Food security remained a high priority during Canada's 2010 presidency of the G-8 and the Group of 20, and Canada has established food security as one of its five international assistance priorities. Coupled with our multilateral and bilateral funding to support long-term responses, Canada also believes in the importance of supporting research partnerships and multilateral research initiatives that will increase our knowledge base and allow us to better devise long-term climate change adaptation solutions.

Such solutions can enhance resilience, build and strengthen institutions and reduce the loss of life and economic devastation, which in turn builds a strong foundation for the maintenance of peace and security. We welcome further thinking on how to deliver adaptation support in a manner that takes into account how existing tensions can be minimized and enables the integration of long-term governance approaches that reduce such tensions.

The President: I give the floor to the representative of Papua New Guinea.

Mr. Aisi (Papua New Guinea): Mr. President, we thank you for convening this important meeting. I also take this opportunity to thank you personally for your attention to this matter.

We align ourselves with the statement eloquently delivered by His Excellency Mr. Marcus Stephen, President of Nauru, on behalf of the Pacific small island developing States (SIDS) and their friends. We also thank the Parliamentary Secretary for Pacific Islands Affairs of the Government of Australia, Mr. Richard Marles, for his statement.

We, like many other speakers, acknowledge the severity and urgency of the issue of climate change, especially the challenges that confront developing countries, particularly those most threatened by its adverse impacts — the SIDS and least developed countries, along with many parts of Africa — and that continue to face enormous pressures from these impacts on their national capacities and institutions. Let me also include the Arctic and Antarctic regions, which have also been adversely affected by climate change, in turn contributing to rising sea levels globally. Both regions have been prominently featured in the international media by the visits of the Secretary-General in recent times.

The truth, however, is that all of our countries are in some way adversely affected by the effects of climate change. Nevertheless, there are United Nations Member States among us that are and will continue to be affected and harmed through absolutely no fault of their own. They will be immediately affected by loss of land or territory through inundation from rising sea levels, which could be catastrophic; others will be affected by horrible droughts that will continue to force millions of people — as we are seeing in parts of the world today — to move across land borders because of depleting arable land and the drying-up of scarce water resources. There are consequences, some of which could potentially lead to conflict.

Through the global public media, we have been made aware that scenario planning by military and intelligence experts, along with various organizations, forecast the potential displacement of large populations due to the adverse impacts of climate change, leading to a variety of negative consequences, including the potential for conflicts.

The Charter of the United Nations is clear. The Council is vested with the mandate to oversee and maintain international peace and security. We would, however, reiterate here the unequivocal statement made by the President of Nauru:

> "Make no mistake: the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change — the UNFCCC — is and must remain the primary forum for developing an international strategy to mitigate climate change, mobilize financial resources, and facilitate adaptation, planning and project implementation." (*S/PV.6587*)

Furthermore, we also strongly support the President of Nauru's call for the General Assembly to continue addressing the links between climate change and sustainable development.

Addressing climate change and its adverse impacts require, at the national level, a whole-of-Government approach. In this respect, we would also argue that there is a need for a whole-of-United Nations approach, which must include all the United Nations organs — among others, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council — and the UNFCCC, along with related United Nations agencies, such as the United Nations Development Programme, and international organizations, including the Global Environment Facility and the World Bank. Each must play its respective role, be it in setting up the relevant policy framework as we move forward or in financing the various response mechanisms to address the adverse impacts of climate change.

By extension, we submit that the Security Council also has an important role to play. In this regard, we would strongly argue that the Council should and must exercise its mandate relative to addressing the adverse impacts of climate change, which may have security implications, including future contingencies that may arise. We observe that the Council has been previously called upon to exercise its mandate to address issues such as development, HIV/AIDS, children in armed conflict, women in conflict and other issues. While these issues have remained on the agenda of the Council, that has not diluted the primacy of those relevant United Nations organs and agencies that have direct oversight — for example, the Economic and Social Council over the development agenda.

We would highlight the effective role that the Council played in sensitizing the international community to HIV/AIDS, noting it as a soft and borderless threat. To be sure, we, the international community, still have challenges ahead of us in dealing with this global scourge, but we saw during the recently concluded High-level Meeting of the General Assembly on HIV/AIDS the real interplay between all the relevant United Nations agencies in addressing this issue, which, we reiterate, was initiated by this Council. The adoption of the outcome document (General Assembly resolution 65/277) in essence reflected the unity of purpose within the international community to continue joint collaboration in addressing HIV/AIDS. In fact, we delivered as one United Nations on the commitment to continue fighting the scourge of HIV/AIDS globally.

In conclusion, we would argue that the same purposive approach as that employed in the HIV/AIDS and development issues by the Council, respecting the mandates of all relevant United Nations agencies and organs, should be employed to address the security implications of the adverse impacts of climate change.

The President: I give the floor to the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Mr. Al Habib (Islamic Republic of Iran): At the outset, I would like to associate myself with the statement made by the representative of Argentina on behalf of the Group of 77 and China, as well as that made by the Ambassador of Egypt on behalf of Non-aligned Movement. I would further like to make the following brief additional observations on the topic of today's open debate of the Council.

The repeated encroachment of the Security Council into the Charter-defined mandates of the other principal organs of the United Nations is a matter of serious concern. While the Council has not even been able, capable or willing to genuinely address the well-established causes of insecurity and conflict around the world, its insistence on delving into issues outside its competence or issues that are not generally believed or proven to threaten world peace and security is incomprehensible. Overstretching by the Security Council, with its current exclusive structure and non-transparent working methods, will have grave consequences for the functioning of other United Nations bodies and the fate of those issues in which the Council shows interest.

Perhaps the best service that some permanent members of the Council can deliver in combating climate change would be to honour their commitments on capacity-building, unconditional transfer of climate-friendly technologies and provision of financial resources to countries that are most in need,

particularly small island developing States, the least developed countries and Africa, as well as to commit themselves to meaningfully reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

There is a spectacular gap between commitments and actions on the part of many developed countries with regard to requirements urgently needed to combat climate change. Meanwhile, we note with concern that the prospect of dramatic reduction of emissions in the near future is too slim.

Climate change is an inevitable and urgent global challenge with long-term implications for the sustainable development of countries. Thus addressing climate change within the context of sustainable development, rather than of peace and security, is the best advisable solution. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Sustainable Development, in our understanding, are the competent and relevant bodies to deal with climate change and its consequences in a comprehensive, inclusive and substantive manner.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Kuwait.

Mr. Alotaibi (Kuwait) (*spoke in Arabic*): Thank you, Mr. President, for giving me the floor. I have the honour to speak on behalf of the Group of Arab States to explain its position on the issue of the maintenance of international peace and security and the impact of climate change.

At the outset, I wish to express our support of the statements made by the representatives of Egypt on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement and of Argentina on behalf of the Group of 77 and China.

Statistics and reality confirm that developing countries — particularly the least developed countries, African countries, landlocked countries and the small island developing States — are most harmed by the negative effects of climate change. The Arab States stress that the potential consequences of climate change will have adverse effects on the Arab region, especially in arid and semi-arid areas.

The Arab Group would like to stress the following points.

First, the responsibility for maintaining international peace and security falls primarily on the Security Council, specifically as per the mandate in the Charter of the United Nations, while taking into consideration the role of the General Assembly in this area, particularly in accordance with Assembly resolution 377 (V) of 3 November 1950, on the overlap of the role of the Security Council with the roles and responsibilities of the other principal bodies does not conform with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and may infringe on the authority of those bodies and the rights of Member States as a whole.

Secondly, climate change is also of an integral part of sustainable development in its three aspects: economic development, social development, and the protection of the environment, which must be tackled in a holistic way.

Thirdly, the issue of climate change is of the utmost importance for sustainable development. Responsibilities for sustainable development are borne by the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and their relevant subsidiary bodies, including the Commission on Sustainable Development and the United Nations Environment Programme. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change is a binding agreement on climate change, and there is the Kyoto Protocol. There is no role provided for the Security Council in any of that.

We believe it necessary for all Member States to support sustainable development by adhering to the Rio principles, particularly the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, and by fully implementing Agenda 21 and other commitments related to the provision of financial resources, technology transfer and building the capacities of developing countries. These commitments were made at Rio, Johannesburg and other major United Nations conferences on economic and social issues.

The Arab Group firmly believes that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change is the best forum in which to deal with the dangers of climate change and to consider measures to be taken on the basis of the principles therein. Measures must be taken in accordance with the Convention, particularly the need for developed countries to take urgent measures to fulfil their commitments to reducing emissions in accordance with the Kyoto Protocol.

Developed countries that have yet to adhere to the Protocol should do so. The Arab Group stresses the need to agree on a second commitment period for the Kyoto Protocol and to ensure that there is no gap between the first and second periods.

In this regard, the Group stresses that it supports the two letters to the President of the Security Council from the Non-Aligned Movement (S/2007/203) and the Group of 77 and China (S/2007/211) regarding the Council's open debate on energy, security and climate on 17 April 2007 (see S/PV.5663). It also supports the letter of 14 July 2011 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt, on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, to the President of the Security Council concerning the open debate entitled "Maintenance of international peace and security: the impact of climate change" (S/2011/427).

The Arab Group also emphasizes that no Security Council presidential statement or press statement should be issued nor any action taken after the open debate, especially any statement or action that may undermine the authority or mandate of relevant organs, processes and instruments or that might in any way effect the cause of climate-change negotiations, including the 17th Conference of the Parties to the Framework Convention scheduled to be held in South Africa at the end of 2011.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Kazakhstan.

Mrs. Aitimova (Kazakhstan): At the outset, I would like to reiterate that deliberations related to climate change are very much within the purview of the General Assembly, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and other United Nations organs and entities. However, my delegation understands the rationale for discussing the subject in the Security Council, because at present the effects of climate change pose a serious threat to human security.

Climate change is a threat multiplier that exacerbates existing negative trends, tensions and instability, overburdening States and regions that are already fragile and conflict-prone. The risks are not just of a humanitarian nature; they also include political and security risks that directly affect both national and international interests, requiring a comprehensive policy response to deal with food, water and energy shortages. The areas most affected will be those under strong demographic pressure and with a massive influx of environmental migrants. That will lead to political, religious and ethnic radicalization, which will have an impact on human rights.

It is well known that attainment of the Millennium Development Goals would be at considerable risk because climate change, if unmitigated, may well wipe out years of development efforts, increasing poor health conditions, unemployment and educational resources.

My delegation recommends further strengthening the UNFCCC in collaboration with other United Nations entities to address the impact of climate change on international security in a comprehensive and effective manner. It is thus critical to further enhance knowledge and assess the capacities of regional bodies and Member States and to improve our efforts in the prevention of, and preparedness for early responses to, climate-related disasters and conflicts, through monitoring and early-warning systems. We must also strengthen civilian protection and disaster-management mechanisms and build capacity in personnel and equipment. The financial implications for such responses should be identified and considered by the United Nations, for improved dialogue between countries on both sides of the climate change spectrum.

Climate change and its security dimension can strain international relations as well as donor capacity. Still, the issue is becoming a driver for improving and reforming global, regional and local governance.

My delegation would particularly like to emphasize the extremely necessary and critical role that United Nations-led preventive diplomacy can play in Central Asia and other regions of the world in addressing the scarcity of water resources, which could lead to tensions and even conflicts. That was confirmed by Mr. Achim Steiner in his written statement, where he referred to the assessment of the Environmental and Security Initiative in the Amu Darya River Basin in the Central Asian Region.

Kazakhstan has been contributing to the United Nations effort to mitigate the effects of climate change by fulfilling its obligations, and so it established its Council of Sustainable Development and the Department of the Kyoto Protocol. The country made quantitative commitments for the post-Kyoto period to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 25 per cent by

2050. The country proposed to grant the International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea the status of a United Nations institution.

The Aral Sea crisis — which is human-made, as is climate change — is well known. The Sea has lost three fourths of its water, spelling disaster for millions of people living around it and impacting the environment of the Eurasian continent. The countries of the Central Asian Region need the assistance of the world community to rehabilitate the Sea. Kazakhstan stands ready to fully contribute to the multilateral effort — including building on the Cancun recommendations — to reduce the threats of climate change at the global and regional levels.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Belgium.

Mr. Lambert (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): Let me start by thanking you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting. The effects of climate change indeed require renewed mobilization, and Belgium welcomes this opportunity to give this question the attention it deserves.

Belgium fully associates itself with the statement delivered by the representative of the European Union, and I will therefore limit myself to a few points.

Many speakers today referred to the debate held in April 2007 (see S/PV.5663), and rightly so. The 2009 report of the Secretary-General requested by the General Assembly (A/64/350) was also a major milestone: it made the case for enhanced action on the part of the United Nations system.

What has happened since then? Climate change has returned to negotiations on the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Despite the notable progress in that forum, we should admit that this question is no longer given a high priority in our debates in New York. We recognize that the Framework Convention is the proper forum for dealing with climate change, but other organs — this Council and the General Assembly — should remain seized of aspects of this matter that fall under their jurisdiction.

Climate change acts as a threat multiplier. Some might argue that those threats are remote, but that is not the case. We should not close our eyes to what science is telling us. Average global temperatures have increased by 0.7°C since pre-industrial times. Emissions already in the atmosphere will lead to a further increase of 0.6°C. Continuing with business as usual puts us in danger of a 3° change by the end of the century.

What is worrying is that past changes in the Earth's climate have always been non-linear and unpredictable, with sudden shifts when key thresholds were reached. That makes planning even more challenging for policymakers. We are at risk of an abrupt climate change that could cause a rapid dieback of tropical forests, a precipitous melting of polar ice sheets or glaciers and greatly accelerate the rise of sea levels.

What can we do? The first avenue for prevention is indeed mitigation. Major steps were agreed to in Cancún and are now being implemented. However, the negotiations in the Framework Convention should be stepped up. The European Union has set itself on track to a low-carbon and energy-efficient economy by 2020. We are now expecting others to join these efforts.

Beyond that essential action, we have to increase our readiness to cope with the effects of climate change. Some of them are already felt today. In the Pacific, the relocation of the populations of small islands has already begun. The same is happening in some villages of Alaska. The succession of droughts and floods worldwide has intensified over the past years and has led to an increased number of humanitarian emergencies.

The effects of climate change are also threatening the very resources that are so vital for human life. Throughout history people have fought over natural resources. Climate change is threatening the availability of those resources. Water, fertile land, food and energy supplies are all at risk. Scarcity of natural resources is in some cases a threat multiplier; in other cases it is itself a threat. The stress on crops and the lack of fresh water will first affect the most vulnerable populations.

Indeed, the impact of climate change will not be spread evenly. Scarcity might lead to a breakdown of coping mechanisms of groups and individuals, carrying with it an increased risk of instability and conflict. Today, we know that a wide range of factors — such as ethnic tensions, transborder disputes, inequalities in societies, population movements and failed States — can lead to armed conflict. But climate change will

become an ever more important factor among those root causes.

How can the United Nations respond? This major challenge for mankind should be addressed in a holistic and preventive way. It would be irresponsible to reduce climate change to its negotiating aspect. An overall framework for preventive diplomacy is indispensable to alleviate the consequences outlined in the reports of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, especially for the most vulnerable countries.

We have to take concrete steps towards a coherent approach within the United Nations system. Our international institutions should be prepared to respond to the impacts of climate change and the scarcity it will cause. Today we welcome this debate, which paves the way for future Council action on this issue and promotes a structured approach by the United Nations system to the security aspects of the climate challenge.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I now give the floor to the representative of Peru.

Mr. Rodriguez (Peru) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation appreciates and acknowledges the statement made this morning by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, as well as the information and briefing provided by the Executive Director of the United Nations Environmental Programme, Mr. Achim Steiner. My delegation also takes due note of the clear and precise portrayal of the problem of climate change made by the President of Nauru, Mr. Marcus Stephen. Peru associates itself with the statements made by the Permanent Representatives of Argentina and of Egypt on behalf of the Group of 77 and China and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, respectively.

That climate change is a real problem for all countries of the world without exception is no secret to anyone. We all are suffering it to various degrees, so the international community, in terms of our respective capacities and levels of responsibility, must understand the historic and overriding need to take decisive action to assuage the scourge.

This is the right time to reaffirm that there are duly established multilateral channels to address the issue through the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which is the appropriate context within which States should seek the necessary consensus, and the relevant United Nations entities, in particular the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Commission on Sustainable Development and the United Nations Environment Programme. Those bodies should exclusively address the issue of sustainable development in general.

I would like to underscore some of the havoc that climate change has been wreaking in my country. The population of Peru lives in very diverse ecosystems. In our case, the greater intensity and frequency of climate disorders, such as the El Niño phenomenon, result in severe floods on the coast and droughts in the Andes, causing serious social and economic damage. At the same time, our glaciers, which account for more than half the tropical glaciers in the world, are affected by rapid melting, which increases the scarcity of water for human consumption, agriculture and power generation. The Peruvian Amazon forest, the second largest in Latin America, which is a priceless biodiversity reserve, is equally affected. In other words, the threat of climate change is by no means alien to us.

The problem of climate change is of global proportions. Therefore, we will be able to tackle it only with the multilateral and concerted action of the entire international community through the structure provided by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, its additional instruments and their core principles, in particular that of common but differentiated responsibilities.

In that context, we reaffirm our conviction that specific measures to contain greenhouse gas emissions must urgently be adopted. Here, it is a priority to strengthen the multilateral regime and full respect for commitments undertaken. For that, we must take into account that our peoples demand levels of well-being and development that we will have to attain under conditions of climate uncertainty and the changed availability of our natural resources. That will force us to make drastic changes in their management, and will mean designing new and less carbon-intensive manufacturing and technology.

For all those reasons, we reiterate our demand for support, not only in recognition of the efforts that developing countries have already made, but also as an ethical imperative of global solidarity. That requirement includes the pressing need to establish the financing and cooperation mechanisms provided for in the Convention. Such support, together with backing

for capacity-building and dynamically and flexibly linked technologies, is a trilogy that will require the creation and definition by all parties requiring it of a process that must be aligned with national circumstances and needs, without restrictive conditionalities.

Peru acknowledges that small island States have been affected by both the global economic and financial crisis and the consequences of the food and energy crises, as well as by climate change and natural disasters, such as the earthquake that struck Haiti in January 2010. We should also take into account the threat to many island States of sea-level rise, whose two main causes have been identified as temperature rise and polar ice melt.

From our position as a developing country, we show solidarity for the efforts of those States, and advocate the due implementation of the cooperation commitments of the international community in financing, technical cooperation and capacity-building. The recent food and financial crises revealed that the structure and operation of the food market were too weak to cope with the effects of successive crises, exacerbated by the implementation of inappropriate policies in terms of efficient land use and food production.

As in many other countries, in Peru, agriculture provides 62.8 per cent of national food production and is the main source of livelihood for the rural population. However, of that 62.8 per cent, 66 per cent of the agriculture depends entirely on rain. Peruvian agriculture is therefore very vulnerable to climate change, which affects our food security.

In that context, it is appropriate to continuing working globally to undertake measures to ensure food security throughout the world, in particular in the poorest countries, essentially through effective strategies managed by every Government to implement investment plans, develop financing mechanisms, and broaden North-South and South-South cooperation, and so on.

Finally, I believe that this is the right time to make an urgent call for the solidarity of all States Members of the Organization so that, setting aside individual interests and looking at the future of all humankind altruistically, we can draw up as soon as possible, in the relevant multilateral bodies, an ethical, joint, far-reaching, inclusive and transparent agreement that will allow us to tackle climate change and to bequeath a successful outcome to succeeding generations on our planet.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Bangladesh.

Mr. Momen (Bangladesh): I thank Germany for scheduling this open debate on "Maintenance of international peace and security: the impact of climate change". I thank the Secretary-General for his statement. Allow me also to express our sincere thanks to the other speakers, including the President of the Republic of Nauru, the Parliamentary Secretary for Pacific Island Affairs of Australia and the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme, Mr. Achim Steiner, for their statements this morning.

My delegation aligns itself with the statements delivered on behalf of the Group of 77 and China and of the Non-Aligned Movement, expressing their views and concern. In addition, I wish to highlight the following points, which Bangladesh feels are important.

My delegation believes that the maintenance of international peace and security, as set out in the Charter of the United Nations, is the primary responsibility of the Security Council. The Charter also designated the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council to deal with issues related to economic and social development. In that regard, we believe that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change is the primary international intergovernmental forum for negotiating the global response to climate change.

Climate change is one of the most severe global challenges facing humankind. I appreciate the Secretary-General's 2009 report on climate change and its possible security implications (A/64/350), which identified several channels, including food insecurity, a growing scarcity of natural resources, the displacement of people, the loss of jobs and livelihoods, abject poverty, large-scale migration and, more important, the loss of hope, resulting in desperation.

All of those have the potential of driving social and regional tensions, political unrest, violent conflict and extremism, thereby threatening international peace and security. Indeed, some of the adverse impacts of climate change include the gradual loss of land, floods,

inundation, droughts, sea-level rise, increased salinity, extreme weather patterns, decreased food production, scarcity of fresh water and climate-induced migration. Global warming in different parts of the world is already compelling us to face erratic climatic behaviour and witness increasing natural catastrophes.

Recently, we have seen how wildfires in Russia and Australia; floods in Pakistan; earthquakes in Haiti, Chile and New Zealand; the tsunami in Japan; tornados and twisters in the United States and drought in Africa have affected developed and developing countries alike. It is true that climate change-induced food insecurity, the uprooting of populations and related adversity constitute a threat to international peace and security. In this regard, I call upon the parties concerned to quickly implement the promises spelled out in the L'Aquila Joint Statement on Global Food Security, adopted by global leaders in 2009.

Sea-level rise is another looming concern for the global community, especially small island developing States (SIDS) and countries with low-lying coastal areas. The rising sea level is of great concern for Bangladesh, as it may displace 30 to 50 million people from our coastal belts by the year 2050. It also will deprive them of their livelihoods. Climate-induced displacement of people has already aggravated urban slum conditions in Bangladesh. Therefore, as negotiations are held to discuss what percentage of emission should be or would be allowed, millions of people in our region are scared of losing their homes and of joblessness and apprehensive of the fact that their next generation will not see their ancestral property. Their survival is at stake.

The effect of climate change will be severe on the least developed countries and SIDS, and global efforts to support these countries should be enhanced right away. In this regard, my delegation calls for the full and effective implementation of the commitments under the Istanbul Declaration on the Least Developed Countries, the Mauritius Declaration and the Mauritius Strategy for the Further Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States.

I urge all stakeholders to fully implement Agenda 21, adopted at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1992 and the commitments undertaken at other relevant United Nations conferences in the economic, environmental and social fields, including the Millennium Declaration.

Let me stress the need to enhance assistance to the affected developing countries by supporting efforts to increase their national and regional capacities, including in mitigation, adaptation, preparedness and development. The developed countries should also ensure the provision of adequate, predictable, new and additional financial resources and the transfer of technology to developing countries.

While addressing this matter, we must focus on the root causes of the problem. My delegation feels that if they are to tackle the adverse impacts of climate change, countries with different capacities and levels of development should fulfil their commitments with regard to emissions reductions and mitigation actions. Developed and developing countries should fulfil their differentiated responsibilities, including pledges and obligations under the framework of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change negotiations to reduce global greenhouse gas emissions.

In conclusion, I also stress the need for a well-coordinated and integrated approach to mitigating the adverse impacts of climate change at the United Nations, meaning that all the relevant organs should complement rather than duplicate their efforts to meet the challenges of climate change.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of the Plurinational State of Bolivia.

Mr. Archondo (Plurinational State of Bolivia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for allowing us to take the floor today. Bolivia associates itself with the statements made by the representative of Argentina on behalf of the Group of 77 and China and by the representative of Egypt on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Climate change is a genuine threat to the existence of humanity, human beings and Mother Earth. Given its systemic nature, it can be analysed from many angles, including its social, economic, cultural and environmental aspects. It is also known that climate change has a security dimension because many States may disappear and new conflicts will emerge due to the effects of extreme temperature change. It is a global threat caused by just a few but affecting millions. Based on that understanding,

Bolivia expresses its solidarity with the small island developing States, represented here in the Council by the President of Nauru this morning.

However, while we recognize the security dimension of this issue, we do not believe that the issue should be addressed by the Security Council because the representatives of the largest emitters of greenhouse gases are precisely those States with permanent seats in the Council and the right to veto. Given those conditions, is it possible for the Security Council to adopt resolutions on sanctions or reparations that effectively hold those countries responsible for the damage they are causing?

The security aspect of climate change should be dealt with in a forum where the guilty States do not possess permanent seats or the right to veto. It should be discussed in a forum where the main victims are adequately represented: the island States threatened with disappearance, countries with glaciers, the countries of Africa, and all of the developing countries that have to pay for damage that they did not cause. Today, the only forum with this level of participation is the General Assembly. For that reason, all aspects of climate change should be addressed comprehensively by that body.

My delegation also stresses that the fundamental task of climate change negotiations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is to guarantee the effective and genuine reduction of greenhouse gas emissions by implementing the second stage of commitments of the Kyoto Protocol. That is the only way to bridge the existing gap and stabilize the global temperature increase at 1°C. The developed countries should increase their commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. We now face a temperature increase of 5°C that will lead to a catastrophic situation, as the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme clearly noted this morning.

According to the Global Humanitarian Forum, every year 350,000 people die because of natural disasters resulting from climate change. That figure will grow and exceed the death rates of the many conflicts and armed conflicts worldwide. That is why a body must be created that will judge and sanction countries that fail to reduce their emissions of greenhouse gases, because they are provoking genocide and ecocide against Mother Earth. For this reason, the Plurinational State of Bolivia advocates the creation of an international tribunal for climate and environmental justice that will implement effective measures to guarantee the human and natural rights of all, and especially those affected by the irresponsibility of those who place profit and earnings above the survival of the human species and Mother Earth.

Every year, global military expenditures total more than $1.5 trillion. Most of those expenditures are incurred by the developed countries, and particularly the five permanent members of the Security Council. However, in order to address the problems of climate change, developed countries have committed only $30 billion over three years — $10 billion per year — an amount equal to less than 1 per cent of their expenditures on defence and security.

A first positive step would be to significantly reduce military expenses and to allocate those resources to a fund to tackle the impacts of climate change in developing countries, particularly island States, African countries, mountain countries and all poor regions of the world that are being affected by this problem.

Allow me to end my statement with a question. Would it be possible for the Security Council to adopt a resolution establishing a reduction of some 10 or 20 per cent in defence and security expenditures, and directing that money to efforts to address the effects of climate change?

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Palau.

Mr. Beck (Palau): At the outset, I would like to thank Germany and you personally, Mr. President, for hosting and leading this very important meeting. I would also like to thank the United Kingdom for its inspiring actions three years ago here in the Council. I associate Palau with the statements made by His Excellency President Stephen of the Republic of Nauru and by Parliamentary Secretary Richard Marles, and I note with appreciation the support of Maldives, Seychelles and Timor-Leste.

The Security Council is responsible for carrying out the most crucial international tasks and is, as a result, accorded extraordinary powers by the Charter. When a threat to international peace and security arises, the Security Council has the mandate and limitless ability to act. That basic function under the

Charter should be uncontroversial. Palau is surprised and disappointed, therefore, to hear any opposition whatsoever to an outcome from this debate. Today's best available science shows clearly that the Western Pacific region has already seen sea levels rise twice as much as in other regions. The Pacific small island developing States are in a red zone. Perhaps if others stood on our vanishing shores, they would better appreciate our situation. While the causes of this threat are novel, the effects, which endanger the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States, fit squarely within the Council's traditional mandate.

The Council has before it the Pacific's modest, constructive and highly achievable proposals. We respectfully request that, at a very minimum, the Council adopt them. If not, I can assure the Council that this will not be the last word on the issue. The danger is mounting. Palau will therefore continue to call on every United Nations entity to intensify its efforts to address climate change and security.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Hungary.

Mr. Körösi (Hungary): My country fully aligns itself with the statement made by the observer of the European Union. Let me thank the President of the Council for proposing this open debate and also emphasize our full support for what President Marcus Stephen of Nauru said this morning about the magnitude of the challenges we all face as a result of ongoing climate change.

I would like to voice some additional thoughts about the security implications of climate change, particularly concerning the direct threats represented by rising water levels. For certain countries, as some speakers have indicated today, their potential loss of territory could be fatal, leading to the total relocation of some nations; others can expect the extraordinarily heavy burden of having to move — where that is possible — infrastructure and economic assets.

In Europe alone, some 20 to 30 million people may be forced to leave their homes over the next 70 years. The overall loss of assets there could be more than the total gross domestic product (GDP) of the European Union today. On a global scale, the population that would have to be relocated could be more than 300 million, and the potential loss of assets is incalculable. Degradation and the flight of capital and populations from endangered areas could happen well before such areas were submerged. Vulnerable societies, as many have indicated today, could be overwhelmed by such events.

Some potential indirect threats from these factors are that fishing and mining rights could become uncertain or even challenged if territorial waters and exclusive economic zones were to change significantly. Traditional donors will have to spend much more on their own mitigation projects and be able to contribute less to assisting stability and development in other regions.

Some possible inland security consequences include an increase in the volatility of rivers, resulting in uncontrollable floods, and more powerful storms with greater destructive capability. An increasing part of countries' GDP may have to be spent on constant recovery efforts. Such factors are already taking a greater toll than ongoing wars, in both human and economic terms.

Among the security issues that should be reconsidered, food security, which has already been discussed today, has never been as fragile in the past 60 years as it is today. The implications are felt everywhere, but in the most vulnerable countries, rapidly growing social tensions could quickly topple local or regional security arrangements. In fact, in all the countries affected by the Arab Spring, food prices played an important role in security issues. New analysis and guidance concerning the peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities overseen by the Security Council and other bodies might be desirable in order to prevent States and communities from lapsing into violent conflict situations.

Six decades ago, when the United Nations system was first developed, security was viewed primarily in military terms. Today, the dimensions of security and the imminence of risk factors have significantly changed. The focus of the principal body responsible for addressing security challenges should follow or even anticipate those changes. The Republic of Hungary strongly supports the work of the Security Council and further encourages the Council to maintain its vigilance over and preparedness for the security implications of climate change.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Finland.

Mr. Taalas (Finland): Finland subscribes to the European Union statement. I would like to make just a few additional points from our national perspective.

Finland welcomes this debate. In the light of this debate, of exchanges in many other forums, and of the Secretary-General's 2009 report (A/64/350), it is clear that climate change will have significant security implications. The themes highlighted in the concept note (S/2011/408, annex) and in this debate, including rises in sea levels and food security, are directly linked to international peace and security. Only 20 years ago, it did not seem imaginable that small island nations could be submerged due to sea-level rise. It sounded like science-fiction. Today, that prospect is all too real.

Climate change will have an adverse effect on food production and freshwater resources. That impact will be worse in areas already under environmental stress, which could lead to population movements and political unrest. While the impact of climate change varies from region to region, the small island developing States are most at risk. They are not the cause of climate change, but they may very well become its first victims unless remedial action is taken. They must be our priority.

Finland is actively partnering with many small island developing States in building their capacity to act internationally and adapt locally. As an example, Finland supports the capacity development of the Alliance of Small Island States and the Pacific small island developing States, and has meteorological cooperation projects in the Pacific and Caribbean regions.

Action and ownership at the local level are crucial to slowing climate change and mitigating its effects. Women have a key role, as they are often the most powerful agents for change. That is why Finland has for years supported the Global Gender and Climate Alliance and the participation of women representatives in climate change negotiations.

Finland welcomes the discussions on climate change within the United Nations and believes that the Security Council and other United Nations organs can and should contribute to this, within their respective competences. The Security Council should, given its pre-eminent role in maintaining international peace and security, keep an eye on the emerging security implications of climate change. If elected to the Security Council next year, Finland will contribute actively to any such assessment and action.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Barbados.

Mr. Goddard (Barbados): At the outset, let me join those who spoke before me in thanking you, Mr. President, and Germany for having convened this very important meeting.

I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 14 member States of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). CARICOM wishes to associate itself with the statements made on behalf of the Group of 77 and China and the Non-Aligned Movement. CARICOM welcomes the presence of His Excellency Mr. Marcus Stephen, President of the Republic of Nauru, at today's debate.

Climate change represents the most serious global environmental and development challenge facing humanity. Dangerous climate change is already occurring, and therefore an urgent and comprehensive response by all countries must be of the highest priority. Climate change will intensify already existing global challenges, exacerbate water and food scarcity, and cause a range of other shocks and stresses, some of which will be highly unpredictable and abrupt.

CARICOM believes that the environmental, social and economic aspects of climate change cannot be easily separated from its possible security dimensions. We therefore believe that the possible security implications of climate change must be addressed at the multilateral level by bodies which are inclusive, representative and transparent and that allow for the full and effective participation of all Member States.

Let me reiterate CARICOM's view that the Security Council should refrain from encroaching on the functions and powers that the Charter and tradition have placed within the purview of the General Assembly. CARICOM maintains that it is far better for the Council to construe its mandate strictly and do a small number of things well rather than be more expansive and do a host of tasks poorly.

As a group of countries particularly vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change, CARICOM believes that if urgent and ambitious actions are taken to comprehensively address climate change, this will reduce the security implications associated with

climate change, including the existential threat faced by some small island developing States (SIDS), including some in the Caribbean and Pacific. When the Council last addressed this issue in 2007, it was in the context of the alarming findings of the *Fourth Assessment Report* of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, which warned that we were on the cusp of a global climate disaster without an urgent and ambitious collective response.

Over the past four years, science and actual climatic events have not only confirmed these assessments, but have pointed to an even narrower window of opportunity for action than originally envisaged in 2007. The increased intensity and frequency of extreme weather events around the world, including in the Caribbean, accelerating ice melting in polar regions and glacier retreats, and a faster-than-projected sea-level rise, all point to the seriousness of the climate challenge.

Unfortunately, the response by the international community has not been commensurate with the scale and complexity of this challenge. Despite the sobering realities confronting us, there is an absence of political will on the part of those most responsible for this problem to conclude a comprehensive and legally binding agreement in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and provide vulnerable developing countries with the means to address current and future adaptation needs. Furthermore, global emissions are at their highest level in history, and as the International Energy Agency confirmed a few weeks ago, the world is about to cross the dangerous threshold that would make it impossible to limit the increase in global mean temperatures to the below 2° C goal agreed to in Cancun in the UNFCCC a mere six months ago, or achieve the even more ambitious below 1.5° goal supported by over 100 developing countries, including the Alliance of Small Island States and the least developed countries.

CARICOM continues to believe that with strong leadership, a bold and ambitious response is possible, and we are therefore not prepared to wave the white flag of surrender and abandon hope that this problem will be solved. We consider it morally and ethically unacceptable for the international community to fail to respond to the needs of peoples facing the prospect of hunger, drought, more frequent and intense extreme weather events or the real prospect of losing their lands, livelihoods and even lives on account of sea-level rise, when we have the means and tools at our disposal to address these problems.

It is still scientifically possible and economically feasible to undertake the actions required to avert this looming climate catastrophe. Even now, no effort, financial or otherwise, is being spared to avert a global financial meltdown. A similar effort is required to avert a climate catastrophe.

In this regard, those who have historically contributed most to this problem have a moral and legal obligation to assume primary responsibility. Developed countries must take the lead in significantly reducing their harmful greenhouse gas emissions and substantially increasing financial and technological assistance to support the adaptation efforts of developing countries, especially the SIDS.

CARICOM remains convinced that the international community must attach the highest priority to completing ongoing climate change negotiations within the UNFCCC and its Kyoto Protocol on strengthening the existing legally binding climate regime.

CARICOM wishes to further emphasize the need for our development partners to join with us and other SIDS to ensure the full and rapid implementation of the Barbados Programme of Action and the Mauritius Strategy, of which the issues of climate change and sea-level rise are important components. The effective implementation of these two international agreements, support for national and regional initiatives such as the Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre, along with the action taken within the UNFCCC, will significantly assist the SIDS in coping with the adverse effects of climate change and help to minimize the security implications associated with climate change.

In closing, let me say that it is these real and tangible actions that will reduce the risks of climate change. Given the many expressions of solidarity today, CARICOM is hopeful that this debate will result in a renewed sense of urgency and ambition within the ongoing climate change negotiations. For the Caribbean Community and other island States, the failure of the international community to respond to climate change and thereby ensure our survival and viability is not an option we would wish to contemplate.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Turkey.

Mr. Çorman (Turkey): Turkey welcomes this important open debate on climate change and international peace and security. We thank the German presidency for having organized it.

There can be no doubt that climate change continues to be one of the most pressing and complex issues facing humankind today. It is vital to find a global solution to this problem. We have absolutely no time to lose. The adverse effects of climate change pose a risk that is simply too serious and too great to ignore. Complacency cannot be an option.

It is also very clear that the risks posed by climate change cannot be met by any single State. We are faced with a common challenge and we must tackle it with a spirit of shared responsibility. This means that effective long-term cooperation and sustained international solidarity will be of paramount importance.

Turkey is fully committed to contributing to the global efforts to address climate change. We believe that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is the central multilateral instrument to guide individual and collective actions. In this context, we need to work hard to determine the elements of a realistic post-2012 regime. The UNFCCC Cancún Conference was a significant step forward in this regard.

Climate change and its follow-on effects pose a severe risk to political, economic and social stability, in particular in drier, subtropical, overpopulated and economically underdeveloped regions of the world. These effects include shortfalls in water for drinking and irrigation, with concomitant risks of thirst and famine; changes and possible declines in agricultural productivity stemming from altered temperature and rainfall patterns; rises in sea level, which pose an existential threat to several Member States; spikes in the rates and extended geographic scope of malaria and other diseases; shifts in economic output and trade patterns; changes and possible large shifts in human migration patterns; larger economic and human losses attributable to extreme weather events such as hurricanes; and shortfalls in energy supply. Such effects would significantly curtail sustainable development and the achievement of the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals.

Needless to say, small island developing States and least-developed countries will be hit hardest by climate change, due to their structural constraints, limited natural resources and vulnerability to natural hazards. In this context, we believe that climate change adaptation merits further consideration.

The international community should continue to work on how best to overcome the observed and future impacts of climate change, taking into account the potential security implications. A key issue is the identification of cases of successful adaptation in the developing world, where the greatest risk and physical vulnerability persists. It depends predominantly on the capacity to cope with all kinds of threats and impacts, which is determined to a large degree by the socio-economic characteristics of communities. Thorough assessment and effective planning are central to successful adaptation. This requires sufficient long-term sources of financing, as well as appropriate know-how and technology.

It is clear to us that the international community needs to accelerate its efforts to combat climate change. This long-term dedicated effort will also contribute to development, prosperity, peace and security on our planet. Turkey stands ready to do its part in this regard.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of the Philippines.

Mr. Cabactulan (Philippines): At the outset, I wish to congratulate Germany and you, Mr. President, upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. I also wish to express my appreciation to you, Sir, and the other members of the Council for this opportunity to address the Council under the agenda item on the maintenance of international peace and security and the impact of climate change.

The Philippines aligns itself with the statements delivered by the Permanent Representative of Egypt, on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, and by the Permanent Representative of Argentina, on behalf of the Group of 77 and China.

It is beyond dispute that climate change has adversely affected and continues to impact our environment and our lives. It not only alters the

harmony of nature but destroys its works. We are now experiencing its harmful effects and consequences. We fear that this is just a prelude to a much greater and irreversible catastrophe.

The Philippines, like many developing island States, is highly vulnerable to the adverse impact of climate change. The increasing frequency and severity of floods, droughts and typhoons are already stretching to the limit our Government's capacity and resources to aid the victims of natural calamities.

Global warming has also affected the yield of staple crops, such as rice and corn. Even marine resources have felt the scourge of this phenomenon. The fish kill in some provinces in the Philippines continues to mount, endangering the livelihood of thousands of fisherfolk. Indeed, the slew of environmental devastation and economic loss brought about by climate change shows no sign of alleviating.

Sea-level rise is another threat to the integrity of the Philippine archipelago. We therefore share the grave concern of small island developing States about the short- and long-term consequences of climate change and the havoc it will bring if nothing is done to mitigate these pernicious consequences.

My delegation believes that addressing the issue of climate change falls primarily within the competence of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), but also tangentially within those of the General Assembly and other forums such as the Rio+20 Conference, to be held next year. The Security Council may of course play a role on this issue, in the sense that armed conflicts could potentially break out due to competition for food and scarce resources, not to mention the disappearance of island States as the ocean slowly swallows them. This crisis is not just hypothetical; it is real, and a certain recipe for chaos and instability — a real threat to peace and security. Yet no discussion within the Security Council on climate change can be held without acknowledging the state of play in other forums, especially within the UNFCCC process.

The principles and discussions regarding the issue of climate change must be interrelated and complementary. Before we reach the ultimate crisis level when nation States drown, all efforts to prevent this from happening through adaptation and mitigation must be exhausted. Part of this appreciation should also consider commitments made under the Kyoto Protocol and the need to negotiate a second commitment period, mutually agreed to by all stakeholders.

It is ironic that small islands and developing States, particularly those in tropical areas like the Philippines, are the least responsible for this global problem and yet they face and bear the most adverse consequences. Climate change, in particular global warming, will continue unless significant gains are achieved in the campaign to immediately reduce greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. The predicament of these countries is compounded by their inability to access resources to enable them to adapt to climate change.

We all know the problem very well, and we are all part of the solution. While of course this is accepted, some members here are more responsible than others in addressing the root causes of the problem. Scientific studies and findings provide the bases for and the courses of action that we must all take. We should not wait for a major catastrophic event to happen. We cannot afford to be lax and indifferent. The future of our children and of generations to come is at stake. All of us must therefore be directly involved in the fulfilment of our intergenerational obligation and responsibility to protect the environment and save the planet from anthropogenic shortcomings that could lead us all to problems of international peace and security.

The President: Following extensive consultations by Council members, I have been authorized to make the following statement on their behalf:

> "The Security Council reaffirms its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Council stresses the importance of establishing strategies of conflict prevention.
>
> "The Security Council recognizes the responsibility for sustainable development issues, including climate change, conferred upon the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.
>
> "The Security Council underlines General Assembly resolution 63/281 of 3 June 2009, which: reaffirms that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

(UNFCCC) is the key instrument for addressing climate change, recalls the provisions of the UNFCCC, including the acknowledgement that the global nature of climate change calls for the widest possible cooperation by all countries and their participation in an effective and appropriate international response, in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities and their social and economic conditions, and invites the relevant organs of the United Nations, as appropriate and within their respective mandates, to intensify their efforts in considering and addressing climate change, including its possible security implications.

"The Security Council notes General Assembly resolution 65/159 of 20 December 2010, entitled 'Protection of global climate for present and future generations of humankind'.

"The Security Council notes that, in response to the request contained in General Assembly resolution 63/281, the Secretary-General submitted a report to the General Assembly on 'Climate change and its possible security implications' (A/64/350).

"The Security Council expresses its concern that possible adverse effects of climate change may, in the long run, aggravate certain existing threats to international peace and security.

"The Security Council expresses its concern that possible security implications of loss of territory of some States caused by sea-level rise may arise, in particular in small low-lying island States.

"The Security Council notes that in matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security under its consideration, conflict analysis and contextual information on, inter alia, possible security implications of climate change is important, when such issues are drivers of conflict, represent a challenge to the implementation of Council mandates or endanger the process of consolidation of peace. In this regard, the Council requests the Secretary-General to ensure that his reporting to the Council contains such contextual information."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2011/15.

I would like to thank all members of the Council for the cooperation and flexibility shown in the intensive negotiations over recent days. It led to an outcome of our debate that is good news.

I now give the floor to the representative of Kenya.

Mr. Kamau (Kenya): I would like, first of all, to begin by thanking you, Mr. President, for convening today's meeting. I would also like to thank Mr. Achim Steiner for his statement this morning.

My delegation very much welcomes the opportunity to speak on this issue today, because for us climate change presents a real and present danger that consistently haunts the existence and lives of our people. This happens in five key dimensions. The first is human security; the second is economic security; the third is national security in the collective sense; the fourth is in the context of peace and stability; and the fifth is in the context of trying to find solutions for these issues.

Insofar as human security is concerned, for us climate change impacts on the lives and livelihoods of Kenyans in ways that are very difficult to describe because, for the most part, they impact in ways in which lives are lost, children suffer and we all collectively find ourselves in a spiral of deteriorating circumstances. The food security situation in our country, the situation of prices driven by food insecurity, the situation with regard to water, the situation with regard to the drying up of rivers and the situation with regard to access to shelter driven by the disappearance of forests, where we get the timber for many houses — all these are conditions that are directly correlated to the human security of our people and their livelihoods. Health and education are affected directly as people find themselves forced out of their homes and communities by situations of drought and lack of water and food. This situation becomes real. As we have seen over the past 10 to 15 years, the situation has continued to accelerate. Currently we have yet another drought, after having faced one as recently as in 2008.

As far as economic security is concerned, as everyone here knows, many of the countries in our

region — and Kenya is no exception — are weather-based economies. We depend upon agriculture, livestock and wildlife. Agriculture is the backbone of our economy. It is not irrigation-driven, it is weather-based. We have had cycles of drought and floods, which continue to undermine our ability to provide the food security that we wish to provide for our people. We have determined that we suffer a 2 to 5 per cent loss in economic growth every two or three years as a direct consequence of climate change driven by droughts and floods. This difference is essentially the difference between attaining full growth that can drive the transformation of our economies and meet our Millennium Development Goals, or not.

With regard to climate change and national security, again, in the case of Kenya we are very conscious of the fact that we are in a country and an economy with truly scarce resources.

Less than one-third of our country is arable; two-thirds of the country is basically shrub and land that is not conducive to agriculture. Therefore, land is a premium product and something that we consider to be fundamentally important to the livelihoods of people. Struggles around land, water, livestock and food become a fundamental part of people's existence and therefore drive their interrelationships. In the northern part of our country, we have seen cattle-rustling and other acts that drive the inability of the country to maintain security become correlated to the weather patterns of that region. We see people migrating internally — huge population movements driven by the consequences of poor weather. These are real issues for us.

In the context of the regional perspective, we see people coming in to our country. Over the past month, we have seen yet another 1,300 people added to the already 500,000 who are there from Somalia alone. As the Secretary-General said in his presentation, we have seen close to 53,000 people coming in to the country, driven primarily by the consequences of the lack of water, food and security in our neighbour Somalia. This is a real concern for us, and the correlation between it and climate change is direct.

My fourth point relates to peace and stability. The three issues that I have just spoken about — human security, economic security and national security — fundamentally affect peace and stability not only in Kenya, but in the region in which our country exists. It has already been said here by many that the Horn of Africa is undergoing the severest drought it has experienced in the past two generations. Not since the 1950s have we seen anything as serious as what we are witnessing in northern Kenya and much of Somalia. We are therefore very conscious of what this means for the efforts that we are undertaking in our country not only to promote peace and stability, but to try to put in place the kind of economic growth that will allow us to overcome poverty and achieve the Millennium Development Goals.

Lastly, we have come to realize — and we have come here because we want to emphasize — that we need a clear, determined and long-term solution. In this context, we associate ourselves with the statements made on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77. It is imperative that we, as the international community, begin to take extremely seriously the consequences of climate change, particularly for poor countries. As I said earlier, the consequences are real to us. They drive livelihoods and they drive lives. They undermine the well-being of our families and leave our children devastated and without opportunities to learn and maintain good health.

I very much welcome the presidential statement that has just been adopted (S/PRST/2011/15) because it signals to us that the Security Council and, by extension, the General Assembly are truly beginning to understand that this situation is serious enough to deserve not just a paper outcome, but also clear, determined solutions that we can all use to seize the opportunity to improve the lives of our children.

The President: I give the floor to the representative of the Sudan.

Mr. Osman (Sudan) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I should like to thank you, Sir, for the comprehensive concept paper you have submitted (S/2011/408, annex), and in particular for the fifth and final issue it raises for discussion concerning the need to coordinate the other United Nations organs and agencies working on conflict prevention and peacebuilding, including the Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery of the United Nations Development Programme, the Post-Conflict and Disaster Management Branch of the United Nations Environment Programme, the Department of Political Affairs and the Peacebuilding Commission. There must be coordination among all these agencies in order to

counter the negative security dimensions of climate change.

I should like to add my voice to those of the representatives of Egypt, Argentina and Kuwait, who spoke on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Group of 77 and China, and the Group of Arab States, respectively.

With regard to the subject under discussion, my country has suffered a conflict in Darfur that is coming to an end. I recall our previous statements to the Council to the effect that drought and desertification in that region are among the basic causes of that conflict, and that they are the results of climate change. In 1985, Darfur experienced severe desertification and drought, which affected economic activity based on agriculture and livestock. When the drought took hold, conflict erupted that had nothing to do with the ethnicity of the tribes involved, but was directly related to the economic situation. Herdsmen encroached on farmland, sparking the onset of conflict in Darfur. There is a saying that the herdsman would sooner see his son die before his eyes than his cow. We therefore assert that the main cause of conflict in Darfur was desertification and drought.

My second point is that if the international community had helped the Sudan to address the basic cause of conflict, which is lack of economic development in the face of drought and desertification, it would not have needed to spend all that money on peacekeeping operations in Darfur. The money spent every year on peacekeeping there amounts to some $3 billion. Would it not have been preferable to spend that money to address the fundamental problems caused by desertification and drought in the region? Had we done so, we could have ended the conflict.

Other, political causes followed desertification and drought which some parties used to exploit the situation in Darfur. In the Doha negotiations, the Sudan, with the assistance of the United Nations and the African Union, has drawn up a basic document that has been accepted by all stakeholders in Darfur. We hope that the document will put a rapid end to the conflict in Darfur. At the same time, we have agreed to establish a bank capitalized by the sisterly country of Qatar. From this Chamber, we would like to thank Qatar for addressing the root causes of conflict: the lack of economic development, drought and desertification.

In conclusion, if we, in all the agencies of the United Nations, focus on the root causes of conflict, we could achieve peace and security. If we delay, we will be helpless to prevent conflict, and will have to spend much money on peacekeeping operations that do not address its root causes.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Ghana.

Mr. Tachie-Manson (Ghana): My delegation commends the Federal Republic of Germany for holding this debate on "Maintenance of international peace and security: the impact of climate change". We express our gratitude to the Secretary-General and the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme for their statements. We align ourselves with the statements delivered by the representatives of Argentina on behalf of the Group of 77 and China and of Egypt on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Climate change has negatively impacted food production in many parts of the world. Excessive heat, wild fires, floods, drought and desertification have caused crop failures and reduced crop yield. In addition, as noted by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, climate change is likely to reduce access to clean water and ecosystem resources, and to undermine stable health conditions and the security of settlements. Evidence abounds that global warming will cause sea level rise, major changes in coast lines and the inundation of low-lying areas.

The impact of climate change has implications for human security. The livelihoods and survival of communities are at stake. Climate change has, to some extent, caused the scarcity of resources, competition and disagreement among parties, institutional breakdown and violent conflict in some countries. The areas in which climate change has led to conflict are mainly where the capacity of the population to adapt to changing conditions is weak and it is susceptible to conflict.

We firmly believe that a security-oriented debate on climate change in the Council will encourage many countries to substantially reduce emissions and invest more in adaptation activities. Investment in adaptation activities that provide information on vulnerability, climate risk and early warning signals builds the adaptive capacities of States through measures such as co-managing water resources, protecting and diversifying livelihoods, and ensuring access to and the

availability of key natural resources and support to domestic and regional conflict resolution institutions. That will enhance security and reduce the potential for conflicts.

Responses to environmental wars should focus predominantly not on military solutions to secure resources or to erect solid barriers to migration, but more on the cost-effective alternative of adaptation. We hope that putting climate change in the "high politics" category of security will not draw attention away from development challenges, such as extreme poverty, access to education and HIV/AIDS, which, altogether, pose an urgent threat to vulnerable societies.

It is our fervent hope that this debate in the Council will lead to actions that complement and boost the work of relevant institutions mandated to handle sustainable development issues. Such actions should be timely, concerted and sustainable.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

Mr. Valero Briceño (Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela) (*spoke in Spanish*): As we have all heard, the Security Council has adopted a presidential statement on the topic under deliberation today (S/PRST/2011/15). The statement was read out before today's debate had ended and before the statements of 11 delegations on the list delivered to us by the Secretariat, including the Venezuelan delegation, having been heard. That procedure, to say the least, is inconsiderate and another example of the exclusive nature of the Security Council's decision-making. While voicing such concern about the procedure, I would like to state the view of the Venezuelan delegation on the topic under consideration.

First, the delegation of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela endorses the statements made by the representatives of Argentina on behalf of the Group of 77 (G-77) and China, and of Egypt on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

My delegation is concerned over the hypersensitivity shown by members of this body on issues beyond their competence, even as they omit or avoid consideration of initiatives that contribute to making the legitimate activity of this organ more transparent. It has been repeatedly stated here that the primary responsibility of the Security Council is the maintenance of international peace and security, as established in the Charter of the United Nations, as we all know. That instrument entrusts, among other matters, the handling of issues of economic and social development to the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly.

The increasing infringement by the Security Council of the functions and responsibilities of other main organs of the United Nations is a distortion of the purposes and principles of the Charter and is an abuse of authority that affects the rights of most Members of the United Nations.

We therefore allow ourselves to reiterate that the responsibility for addressing matters of sustainable development falls to the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and its pertinent auxiliary bodies, such as, for example, the Commission on Sustainable Development and the United Nations Environment Programme. Moreover, climate change and its implications are the object of a binding multilateral agreement, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, and an additional protocol, the Kyoto Protocol. Given its nature, that issue is outside the competences of the Security Council.

The position of Venezuela on this issue is consistent with that voiced by developing countries since 2007. What is proposed today is to strengthen, and not to weaken the institutional framework of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council as the principal organs concerned with economic, social and environmental matters.

Our delegation therefore rejects any initiative on climate change that is presented outside the scope of the Framework Convention, as it would deeply affect the institutionality of the multilateral system on that issue. Furthermore, the Security Council has no mandate to address issues related to the vulnerability of States to the effects of climate change.

We take this opportunity to reiterate the readiness of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to cooperate on the cause of the sustainable development of small island States, which is central to the policies of solidarity and cooperation of the Bolivarian people with brother island States.

Within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, we support the position of the G-77 and China on strengthening the

institutions and mechanisms that will help to build the capacities of those States facing the effects of climate change. We must assess and manage risks before disasters occur. It is therefore necessary to unite the efforts of the development, humanitarian assistance and environmental protection bodies.

It is essential that all States Members of the United Nations promote sustainable development by adhering to the Rio principles, in particular that of common but differentiated responsibilities, and by fully implementing Agenda 21 and other documents agreed at the Rio Conference, the Johannesburg Summit and the relevant United Nations conferences on economic, social and environmental matters.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Fiji.

Mr. Daunivalu (Fiji): Let me begin by first thanking the German presidency and you personally, Mr. President, for convening this open debate. It is timely and my country is pleased to participate.

In making this statement, we align ourselves with the statement delivered this morning by the President of Nauru on behalf of the Pacific States, together with Maldives, Seychelles and Timor-Leste.

We are all aware that climate change is a phenomenon that has no respect for national boundaries or sovereign States. All nations contribute to the problem and all are affected. The adverse impact of climate change is undisputed. It was our collective recognition of that threat that led to the formation of the various international instruments and bodies currently dealing with climate change.

It is clear, however, that the scale of the threat posed by climate change differs from country to country. While some countries are content with addressing climate change challenges as a sustainable development issue or tackling only its causes and related factors under the process of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), for Fiji, Pacific small island developing States (SIDS) and other low-lying countries, climate change carries a real security threat.

Climate change poses the most serious threat to the survival and livelihood of many small island and low-lying coastal States. The preservation of our nations' territorial integrity and our very existence as sovereign States face far greater threats from the adverse impacts of climate change than from human conflict or other atrocities. The nature of those fundamental security implications of climate change should indicate to us that the issue requires the attention of all principal organs of the United Nations. We say this mindful of a potential domino effect that would ignore the real threats posed by climate change and their consequences for national, regional and international peace and security. We therefore welcome the convening of this open debate in the Council.

In asking the Council to deal with the issue of the security implications of climate change, we do not consider that there has been any encroachment on the mandates of the relevant organs and bodies of the United Nations that already deal with climate change. What we are asking the Council to do is to fulfil its responsibilities as conferred upon it by the Charter. All Member States agreed under the Charter that in carrying out its duties and responsibilities, the Security Council acts on our behalf. We rely on the Council's wisdom to represent the interests of all Members of the United Nations and its organs in the fulfilment of its mandate. We urge the Council to deliver on its part.

In fulfilling its responsibilities, we also ask the Council to fully respect the mandates of the other principal organs of the United Nations and other relevant bodies, processes and instruments that already address climate change. We reaffirm that the UNFCCC is the primary forum for negotiating a global response to climate change and that General Assembly resolution 63/281 recognizes, among other things, the respective responsibilities of the principal organs of the United Nations, including the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security conferred upon the Security Council.

We recognize that climate change is interconnected with issues of sustainable development, food security, financing, mitigation and adaptation. More than that, however, the security implications of climate change threaten the very livelihood and survival of our islands, countries and peoples. We believe, therefore, that this phenomenon should be given the necessary attention it deserves. The threat posed by climate change is politically blind. Its consequences can be far greater that any battle fought. It is incumbent upon us as representatives of the planet and humanity to be comprehensive and thorough in our approach. The stakes are too serious for us to fail to address this issue, or to take action only after a disaster

is already upon us. The price for inaction now will be immeasurably high in the future, for human history teaches us that severe security implications will inevitably arise from the great changes that lie ahead.

In conclusion, if the time to make hay is when the sun is shining, then we firmly believe that we have reached the juncture where the Council must take up the challenge faced by the countries most at risk from climate change. We wish to emphasize that special attention must be given to the obvious calamities associated with sea-level rise. We call on the Council to begin earnest preparations to deal with the security implications of climate change. To that end, we welcome and are heartened by the presidential statement delivered a short while ago on the outcome of this open debate (S/PRST/2011/15). It lays a solid platform for further work by the Council on this important issue.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Poland.

Mr. Zieliński (Poland): Let me begin by thanking you, Mr. President, and the delegation of Germany for taking the important initiative to organize this timely debate. I also thank you for the comprehensive concept note that you have prepared (S/2011/408). My delegation also welcomes the presidential statement that you delivered earlier (S/PRST/2011/15).

Poland fully aligns itself with the statement made by the observer of the European Union on behalf of its 27 member States; however, let me just add a few remarks.

We are already experiencing effects from climate change. Extreme weather events are becoming more frequent and intense than ever before. While climate change alone does not cause conflict, it is an existential threat that can fuel conflict over food and scarce natural resources, especially where access to those resources is politicized. The impacts of climate change might weaken fragile Governments and generate new conflict.

Fortunately, there is increasing awareness among the international community of the urgent need to take action and place climate change within a broader global policy context. The impact of climate change on global security is a cross-cutting issue and requires comprehensive policy responses. In that context, we find it vital to focus our deliberations on water and energy issues.

Water should be at the centre of climate adaptation efforts. Water shortage has the potential to cause civil unrest leading to significant economic loss and thus to generate conflict around the world. Investments and changes to water-management policies should thus be prioritized. In addition, where water supplies cross borders, it is crucial to negotiate water-sharing agreements. Water is also central to almost all economic activities. Therefore, deficiencies in water resources will become one of the most visible impacts of climate change on human society.

Let me now turn to the energy issue. Competition over access to, and control over, energy resources is one of the most significant potential sources of conflict. Since much of the world's strategic energy reserves are in regions that are vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, instability is likely to increase. However, the main threat to energy security comes from import reliance and the lack of necessary infrastructure. In that context, the crucial role of indigenous resources is of the utmost importance. Moreover, energy supply chains should be set up based on a competitive market and adequate infrastructure. Furthermore, reducing emissions by improving energy efficiency is indispensable to achieving mitigation measures.

Urgent international action at the global level is needed to deal with the security challenges of climate change. Addressing its security implications requires new foreign policy thinking outside the environmental box. It is necessary to improve countries' capacity for early warning, analysis and response to climate-induced security implications.

We are aware that these actions entail significant costs. Nonetheless, the cost of action on climate change is far outweighed by the consequences of inaction. Sound environmental policies should become an essential part of conflict prevention on a global scale. Moreover, prevention, mitigation and response capacity-building should be coupled with promoting the development of regional security scenarios for different levels of climate change and their implications. We also need a global framework of risk management to address the challenges of climate change.

Last but not least, Poland understands the concerns of the most vulnerable countries, particularly small island developing States. Climate change is one of the major challenges that these States face. It threatens their very existence, posing additional development challenges with significant security implications. In that context, we would like to reaffirm our commitment to the implementation of the Mauritius Strategy, with a view to addressing effectively the specific vulnerabilities and development needs of small island developing States. It is of the utmost importance that we continue and intensify our assistance to developing countries in their efforts to address climate change.

Finally, let me also underline the key role of international climate change negotiations. An ambitious post-2012 global climate agreement will play a crucial role in addressing climate security. In this regard, Poland actively supports the work carried out in the context of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. The complexity of today's topic and the institutional aspects of how to address the various effects of climate change should not deter us from discussing this important challenge in the future.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Mr. Sefue (United Republic of Tanzania): I thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity to address the Security Council on this subject of great interest to all of us, and I thank the Secretary-General and the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme for their statements this morning. The President of Nauru could not have been more passionate about this subject, and that is something we share. My delegation associates itself with the statements made by the representatives of Egypt on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement and of Argentina on behalf of the Group of 77 and China.

The United Republic of Tanzania, like other developing countries, considers climate change to be a serious threat to our food and water security, our socio-economic development and perhaps our very existence. Poor countries like the United Republic of Tanzania bear the least responsibility for the threat we all now face, have the least capacity to mitigate the impact of climate change and stand to suffer the most from it. We also know that climate change and subsequent global warming are linked to human activity, and that the solution is to be found in sustainable development — an important issue that is currently being addressed by and within the mandates of other United Nations bodies and intergovernmental processes where we all participate on an equal footing.

The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania recognizes that there is an element of security in climate change, just as there is an element of security in most other things in the world. Yet we do not bring all those things into the purview of the Security Council. My delegation believes that climate change is best handled by the other principal organs of the United Nations, as well as by entities mandated to deal with sustainable development. We also recall that we had a similar discussion in 2007 (see S/PV.5663), in which the overwhelming opinion of Member States was that the Security Council should avoid infringing on the mandates of other United Nations entities, such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Economic and Social Council and, ultimately, the General Assembly.

We recognize fully the threats facing Pacific islands — we had to, as we listened to the President of Nauru this morning — and others that are confronting the possible loss of their land mass and the subsequent creation of climate refugees. This is a threat that countries like my own share, because we too have in our territorial waters small islands that risk the same fate as those in the Pacific if we do not bring climate change under control.

That is why we attach great importance to the ongoing multilateral negotiations aimed at reaching amicable solutions through an intergovernmental process we all participate in. We feel that isolating climate change could weaken the possibility of an early conclusion to negotiations under the UNFCCC. The United Republic of Tanzania recommends that the Secretary-General be requested to undertake a comprehensive study to determine the size and scope of the threat facing the Pacific islands and others in a similar position, and develop a menu of alternative options and solutions for consideration and decision by the General Assembly.

In conclusion, let me underline the need to provide recognition and incentives to those countries that render global service in providing climate change mitigation, including carbon sequestration, one of the

interventions enjoying consensus. Tanzania has dedicated more than 30 per cent of its land mass to forest reserves and national parks. It is a net sink for carbon dioxide that deserves support, not just for the United Republic of Tanzania but also for others that play a similar role. We believe that the responsibilities of Member States to avert the threat of climate change lie in making progress through mitigation and adaptation under the UNFCC framework and the upcoming United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Israel.

Mr. Prosor (Israel): I would first like to thank you, Mr. President, and commend the German delegation for organizing this important debate in an efficient and interesting way.

Albert Einstein once said that we cannot solve the problems we have created with the same thinking that created them. The challenges of climate change call for innovative solutions and new ways of doing business at all levels of Government and society. Today's debate provides a timely opportunity for the international community to think outside the box and advance progress on a very important aspect of this issue. The effects of climate change on peace and security are real. They are already appearing, and will become increasingly evident in the years to come. Drought and land degradation may create food shortages. Ocean acidification could destroy whole ecosystems and deplete fish reserves. Rising seas may destroy usable land, forcing communities and even nations to relocate.

This issue affects us all. However, Israel recognizes that it holds particular significance for Pacific small island developing States, which face the prospect of severe land degradation and even total loss of their territory. Already, we have seen rising ocean levels cause degradation and loss of land in many regions, including among the Pacific small island developing States. These consequences present not only economic risks but also serious threats to social stability and security.

My country recognizes the need for an immediate, coordinated and wide-ranging international response to the challenges associated with climate change. Israel is a committed party to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCC), the Kyoto Protocol and post-2012 negotiations. We supported the Pacific small island developing States when they initiated the process for the adoption of General Assembly resolution 63/281, bringing this issue to the attention of the General Assembly.

The loss of territory in small island nations as a result of climate change raises significant legal issues. Israel recently partnered with the Marshall Islands to advance dialogue on these issues, hosting a conference at Columbia University Law School last May.

Israel continues to work towards achieving our nation's target of a 20 per cent reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2020, while serving as a full and active partner in global efforts to address climate change. To that end, the Israeli Government has established a ministerial committee on environmental protection and climate change that incorporates all relevant Government ministries, as well as representatives from civil society and other significant stakeholders. The committee has formulated a national climate change plan for Israel. We are working to reach our ambitious reduction standards through a wide range of efforts, including by improving the efficiency of energy systems, promoting green building and increasing the use of renewable energy sources.

In response to the arid and semi-arid conditions that prevail throughout much of our country, Israel has developed significant experience in combating desertification and has unique expertise in the fields of afforestation, agriculture and highly efficient water conservation. Knowledge in these fields will be critical as we prepare for and adapt to changing climatic conditions. Israel will continue to share its expertise with other countries through a number of capacity-building projects and programmes. To that end, we will again initiate a draft resolution on agriculture technology for development at the next session of the General Assembly that will promote the use of sustainable agriculture technology to enhance conservation and mitigate environmental degradation.

Israel looks forward to continuing to engage with others to advance progress on this issue, which to our minds remains critical for our common future. Indeed, all countries, big and small, have an obligation to each other and to the next generation to respond to this issue with unity, ingenuity and conviction. As we consider that obligation, I am reminded of a lesson from an ancient Jewish text that teaches us to remember that

God said to Adam in the Garden of Eden: "See to it that you do not spoil and destroy my world; for if you do, there will be no one to repair it after you".

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Spain.

Mr. De Laiglesia (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): I would like first of all to express my gratitude for the statements delivered this morning by the Secretary-General and the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme. I should like also to thank the German presidency of the Security Council for having convened this open debate on a genuinely global problem whose origins and effects respect no boundaries and whose consequences for international security are especially worrying.

In today's world, there are no longer solely concrete and easy to discern and understand threats, such as those stemming from an armed conflict or terrorist acts. Instead, we face amorphous, complex and multidimensional threats that are rooted in poverty, lack of development, food and energy insecurity, lack of access to drinking water and sanitation, global pandemics and disease and environmental crises and challenges.

The Security Council has recently devoted a significant amount of time to issues such as development and HIV/AIDS, based on the conviction that they pose a threat to international security. It is in that same spirit that we ought to address the issue of climate change, which is a genuine threat to peace that has enormous consequences not only for countries' security but also for human security. We welcome the fact that the members of the Security Council have finally been able to reach agreement on a presidential statement on this issue. We hope that it will be possible to continue down the path embarked upon in 2007, when the security consequences of climate change were first identified.

Spain associates itself with the statement delivered earlier today by the observer of the European Union. I should like to make some additional comments in my national capacity.

My country is following very closely the threat posed by climate change. On 28 June, my Government adopted a new security strategy that considers climate change as one of the main drivers of increased threats to security. The strategy foresees potential future conflicts as a consequence of climate change and the concomitant scarcity of resources and increased poverty, which could lead to the emergence of failed or weakened States. It also points out the direct threats to our country in the Mediterranean region, as well as the measures to be taken to mitigate their consequences. The strategy also indicates that this is a universal phenomenon that can be addressed only through joint coordination, solidarity and responsibility by all of us.

Spain is therefore committed to continue to develop the necessary legal instruments to combat this threat, as well as to participate actively in the various multilateral forums, in particular the United Nations, in both the Framework Convention on Climate Change and other bodies, including the Security Council.

It is difficult to remain insensitive to pleas such as the one made this morning by the President of Nauru, who can see that his country is at risk of disappearing entirely unless the effects of climate change are halted. This is evidence of the vulnerability from which no State is exempt, as well as of the need to work tirelessly to minimize existing threats to development, security and the very existence of many countries and territories.

I should like to conclude by once again reiterating Spain's commitment to combating climate change, our gratitude to the presidency for its initiative to convene this timely debate, and our desire that this body continue to consider this fundamental issue in future.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Italy.

Mr. Ragaglini (Italy): Italy associates itself with the statement made earlier by the observer of the European Union. I would like to add a few remarks in my national capacity.

Climate change is widely recognized as a serious global threat. Since 2007, when the first debate on the security implications of climate change took place in the Security Council (see S/PV.5663), the situation has certainly not improved, as has been underlined in previous interventions. Climate change continues to act as a threat multiplier and risks triggering or exacerbating conflicts stemming from the consequences of sea-level rise, the depletion of natural resources, desertification, climate-induced migration

and the crucial question of sustainable energy supply, just to mention some of the main challenges.

Yet the international community has not fully activated the threat minimizers that could lower the risk of climate-related insecurity, such as an efficient and globally shared climate mitigation and adaptation mechanism or an effective system of strengthened international cooperation, preventive diplomacy and mediation. That is why Italy welcomes today's debate as an opportunity to further discuss the security implications of climate change, while being mindful and respectful of the prerogatives of the relevant bodies, processes and instruments that already address this issue.

Sea-level rise is one of the most dramatic and tangible climate-related insecurity factors, as it threatens the very survival of several Member States and seriously threatens the living conditions of millions of people throughout the world. For obvious reasons, small island developing States are potentially the most affected, with those of the Pacific having unique features of vulnerability. While the international community aims at a global agreement on climate change, those States cannot be expected to face the consequences of sea-level rise by themselves. They need to be adequately supported in their efforts at adaptation and disaster preparedness, while also being assisted in drafting and implementing sustainable development policies. Those considerations are the basis of Italy's bilateral cooperation policy in the region and motivate our support for the further enhancement of the European-Pacific development partnership.

While small island developing States deserve priority attention, careful consideration also has to be given to other situations, especially in vulnerable regions in which sea-level rise threatens to significantly alter the coastline, impacting on territorial borders and the division of maritime zones and causing humanitarian crises and the exodus of populations. Another important issue is how to effectively manage new opportunities deriving from global warming and sea-level rise, such as the availability of newly accessible natural resource deposits and transportation routes across the Arctic. The capacity of the United Nations system to effectively address these new challenges cannot be taken for granted and may need to be strengthened and improved.

Let me also briefly touch upon the issue of food security. Unlike sea-level rise, food insecurity is not a direct consequence of climate change, but it may be aggravated by the pernicious effects of global warming and extreme weather. Although the impact may vary in different areas of the world, the global toll of climate change on food production is considered negative. This increases the challenge of ensuring food security for the world's growing population, creating the conditions for greater social tensions, unrest and open conflicts. The only way to address such a situation is to redouble our collective efforts to increase the food supply and ensure the stability of food prices.

Italy directly contributed to the adoption of the L'Aquila Food Security Initiative at the Group of Eight (G-8) Summit in 2009. Italy places food security at the centre of its humanitarian and development cooperation agendas and fully supports the commitment of the European Union and the G-8 and the Group of 20 to tackle world hunger and malnutrition.

In conclusion, let me underline that action on security-related aspects alone will be in vain unless the international community renews and intensifies its initiative to address the root causes of climate change. Without an effective global agreement in the context of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the human and economic costs of climate change and its impact on security will only grow and be perpetuated indefinitely.

Likewise, it is essential to boost the international community's efforts to advance sustainable development, without which confronting climate change and its security-related consequences will be far more difficult. All Member States should bear this in mind as we approach the crucial final stage of the preparations for the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development to be held in Rio de Janeiro in 2012.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Pakistan.

Mr. Haroon (Pakistan): Much gratitude and plaudits to Germany for organizing what I consider to be a very significant contribution to this cause.

While we associate ourselves with the statement delivered by the representative of Argentina on behalf

of the Group of 77 and China, we would like to make some additional points in our national capacity.

Pakistan strongly believes it is imperative to address the threat posed by climate change to all developing countries. We are particularly worried about the existential peril of rising sea levels for a number of developing countries, most notably small island developing States (SIDS). There is now clear scientific evidence that, barring effective measures to reduce global warming, some countries' very existence will be threatened.

Decisions adopted at the sixteenth Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) at Cancún represent a tiny glimmer of hope amidst a pall of gloom, apathy and disenchantment with climate change negotiations.

There is no gainsaying the fact that a climate catastrophe is unfolding due to low levels of emission-reduction pledges by the developed world, as well as the uncertainty surrounding the delivery of financial commitments to heal the affected world.

Scientific and pragmatic sense requires that developed countries cut their emissions to at least 25-40 per cent below 1990 levels by 2020. Ironically, the current levels of voluntary pledges — at the lower end of their ranges — suggest that they will have either increased emissions by 6 per cent, or — at the upper end — reduced them by 16 per cent. Either way, even after including emission-reduction actions by developing countries, we are heading towards a global temperature increase of 2.5 to 5° C, spelling disaster in particular for vulnerable developing countries that neither contributed to climate change nor are capable of handling its fallout.

In these circumstances, Pakistan primarily recognizes that small island countries have expressed legitimate concerns about the threat posed to their very survival by climate change and rising seas. We consider this debate an important contribution to our quest for a solution within the UNFCCC-led process.

One of global warming's most disastrous yet least-reported consequences has been global drought, which has transformed a further one fifth of the planet's semi-arid cropland into irretrievable desert. Such desertification has created serious food and water shortages, destroying almost one third of all crop lands and range lands and potentially depleting water supplies for 1 billion people around the world. Water scarcity is already fuelling serious conflicts in South Asia, the Middle East and Africa. Of Africa's 51 nations, only 12 feed their people without assistance.

Another by-product of global warming, the worldwide wildfire plague has aggravated drought and desertification even further. The aridity crisis fuels the global wildfire plague, most dramatically in what we consider a most important region, namely, the Amazon Basin. More Brazilian rainforest is now consumed each year by fire than by loggers. More carbon dioxide is pumped into the atmosphere by wildfires than by internal combustion engines. The pandemic fire plague thus renders exponential the greenhouse effect. And the wildfire plague mounts annually in size and frequency, eroding and ruining even more land.

The first of the mega-fires was in Yellowstone in 1988. Since then, the number of such fires has skyrocketed, and the total increase in their devastation has had a multiplier effect. The fires pumped out incomprehensible quantities of greenhouse gases, accelerated drought, increased desertification and impeded rainforests' ability to process carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases. These natural infernos are now many times the size of anything people had seen previously. Ten years ago, a 100,000-acre fire would have been massive disaster. Now wildfires in the United States alone are routinely many times that size. Firestorms increasingly consume the Amazon rainforest. During one recent year, satellite photos documented more than 350,000 Amazon forest fires. Previously, that rainforest had been impervious to such conflagration.

The Earth's shrinking forest canopy has also diminished the rainforest's assimilation of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases, sabotaging its cleansing of the atmosphere as well as undercutting raincloud development over desolated jungles, reducing precipitation even further.

These multiple disasters — shrinking farmlands, pandemic wildfires and food and water scarcity — compounded by dwindling energy reserves, are destabilizing the world's most violently troubled nations. By destroying people's livelihoods, aggravating poverty and fuelling terrorism among the have-nots, can we even begin to fathom what we have wreaked?

Let me say that a major cause in any civilization's decline and fall — as documented by such scholars as Arnold Toynbee, Oswald Spengler and Edward Gibbon — is wealth inequity, the exploitation of the populace and the violent rise of poverty, inspiring class warfare arising out of the inability to feed people. Conflict, not cooperation, is fast becoming the world condition. If we are to have any chance at disaster-prevention or consequence management, we must act quickly and decisively. The coming catastrophes will exacerbate the current conflicts.

Let me now take the Council back in time and history. While the Mediterranean world was mired in the dark ages, in Mexico there existed a "one world", much like what we have at the United Nations today. They read the heavens, preceded Copernicus's heliocentric theory and devised a calendar accurate until 2012. Thousands of years ago, the Olmecas built the pyramid of Cholula, one-third larger than the great pyramids of Giza; the Mayas build their famous city of Uxmal; and the Toltecs, their fabled Tula. And then: destruction! They had problems frighteningly similar to our own. Their own version of global warming had brought them continuous drought and pervasive famine. Their hyper-dependence on a single crop, maize, made them uniquely vulnerable to climate change.

If our food base were hammered as hard as Tula's, we would each have to go a long way for a meal. In the United States a typical meal travels on average 1,400 miles to the plate. Famine was what finally defeated the American Plains Indians: when 99.99 per cent of the bison had been exterminated, they were inescapably dependent on the buffalo and met their downfall.

Today, climate change is an inescapable reality for Pakistan. It is beginning to manifest itself with increasing intensity and ferocity. We are one of the worst victims of climate injustice. For us, dealing with climate change is no longer a matter of choice; it is an imperative. While there is a global scientific debate taking place about the level and timing of glacial melt, the signs in Pakistan are ominously clear. In my province of Sindh, with hundreds of thousands of arable acres, water availability is down to less than half of what it was 50 years ago. Pakistan's vast glacial area covers around 15,000 square kilometres, and is in rapid retreat. The rate of glacial recession in Pakistan, which has increased by 23 per cent in the past decade alone, is faster than in any other part of the world. Of Pakistan's total land area, only 24 per cent is cultivated, of which 80 per cent is irrigated by water flowing through the predominantly glacier-fed rivers of the country.

Against that backdrop, climate change affects almost all sectors of the country, in particular those of water resources, energy, health, forestry and biodiversity — with a particularly significant impact on agricultural productivity. Last year's unprecedented floods in Pakistan demonstrated the urgency of addressing the threat that climate change poses.

In conclusion, allow me to underline that important work is being undertaken in relevant forums, most notably the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. We underscore the importance of the mandates that each of the principal organs of the United Nations has been given by the Charter. The General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council must retain their pre-eminence and importance.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.